F1226 .B36 1887
Bancroft, Hubert Howe,
1832-1918.
A popular history of the
Mexican people

A

POPULAR HISTORY

OF THE

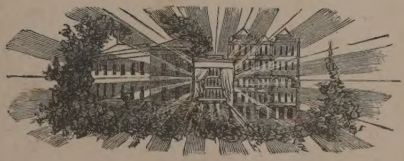
MEXICAN PEOPLE.

BY

DOMINICAN COLLEGE
LIBRARY
SAN RAFAEL

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

1832-



SAN FRANCISCO:
THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS.
1887.

ARCHBISHOP ALEMANY LIBRARY
DOMINICAN COLLEGE
SAN RAFAEL, CALIFORNIA

912
B221p

Copyright, 1887,
By The History Company.

All rights reserved.

5008

PREFACE.

This volume, abstracted from my larger work, is a narrative more particularly of what befell the Mexican people from first to last during their four centuries or so of recorded history, at the same time not omitting the mythological epoch preceding it.

The drier details of pacification, occupation, war, government, colonial policy, and official bickerings, without which indeed it seems impossible for man to make much progress, have been for the most part omitted; nevertheless, sufficient of all these in their brighter phases has been given for the reader to form an adequate idea of the whole true history of Mexico.

But it is the people, their origin and environment, their nature and development, their virtues and their shortcomings, their loves and hates, and the gross wrongs flung upon them by foreign foes, their long struggle for freedom, for physical and intellectual emancipation, — it is regarding these things that the pages of this book are chiefly occupied.

And it is herein that the historian finds his most pleasing task. There are no healthier or happier

thoughts regarding the human race, no more hopeful view to be taken of the subject, than that which finds in man inexorable progression, be he what we call civilized or savage. The mind of man is a planted germ, and must grow. Moreover, in this instance the struggle of self-development was fought out with such true nobility of spirit, such rare perseverance and loyalty, as to command the admiration of all. Time was when it was deemed a disgrace for the offspring of European parents to be born in America; but now we have high in office, military and political, and high upon the honor-rolls of literature, art, and science, our lords aboriginal, who boast the purity of their American blood, uncontaminated by any European admixture.

CONTENTS.

PART I.—ABORIGINAL.

CHAP.		PAGE.
I.	GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, AND RACE	1
II.	THE TOLTEC AND CHICHIMEC PERIODS	10
III.	THE AZTECS	22
IV.	MYTHOLOGY AND TRADITION	30
V.	GOVERNMENT, ROYALTY, AND ROYAL PALACES	43
VI.	NOBLES AND SLAVES	56
VII.	LAND TENURE, TAXATION, AND LAWS	63
VIII.	INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE	68
IX.	FOOD, FEASTS, AMUSEMENTS, AND DRESS	76
X.	LANGUAGE, HIEROGLYPHICS, EDUCATION, AND CALENDAR	87
XI.	WAR AND WEAPONS	104
XII.	ANTIQUITIES	109
XIII.	CITIES, DWELLINGS, AND TEMPLES	122

PART II. THE SPANISH CONQUEST.

XIV.	OUTLINE OF SPANISH HISTORY	133
XV.	EARLY DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS	137
XVI.	THE HERO OF THE CONQUEST	148
XVII.	THE EXPEDITION	152
XVIII.	THE CAMPAIGNS IN TLASCALA AND CHOLULA	159
XIX.	THE SPANIARDS ENTER THE CAPITAL	170
XX.	LA NOCHE TRISTE	177
XXI.	CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF MEXICO	185

PART III.—VICEREGAL OR COLONIAL PERIOD.

CHAP.		PAGE.
XXII.	The Last Days of Hernan Cortés	195
XXIII.	Audiencias and Viceroyalty	202
XXIV.	Spanish Cruelties and the New Laws	209
XXV.	The Conquest of Yucatan	214
XXVI.	The Sack of Vera Cruz	224
XXVII.	Flood, Famine, and Riot	234
XXVIII.	Society during the Viceregal Period	246

PART IV.—THE REVOLUTION.

XXIX.	Outline of European History at the Close of the Viceregal Period	260
XXX.	Causes of Disaffection in Mexico	268
XXXI.	Opening of the War of Independence	278
XXXII.	Fall of Guanajuato	287
XXXIII.	Hidalgo's March toward Mexico	298
XXXIV.	Progress of the Revolution	309
XXXV.	Capture and Death of Hidalgo	324
XXXVI.	Morelos and his Campaigns	333
XXXVII.	Further Progress of the War	341
XXXVIII.	Downfall and Death of Morelos	356
XXXIX.	Close of the Revolutionary War	364

PART V.—UNITED STATES OF MEXICO.

XL.	Agustin de Iturbide	376
XLI.	Dethronement and Death of Iturbide	388
XLII.	The United States of Mexico	400
XLIII.	Foreign and Domestic Affairs	410
XLIV.	Politics and the Pastry War	420
XLV.	Misrule and Overthrow of Santa Anna	435
XLVI.	War with the United States	444
XLVII.	The Dictatorship and the Struggle for Liberty	451
XLVIII.	Foreign Intervention	466
XLIX.	The Emperor Maximilian	481
L.	Downfall of the Empire	493

PART VI.—THE GROWTH AND CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC.

CHAP.		PAGE.
LI.	ADMINISTRATIONS OF PRESIDENTS JUAREZ, LERDO, DIAZ, GONZALEZ, AND DIAZ AGAIN	507
LII.	INSTITUTIONAL	528
LIII.	SOCIETY AND ITS ELEMENTS	536
LIV.	CITIES AND THEIR CHARACTER	546
LV.	DRESS, AMUSEMENTS, AND OCCUPATIONS	561
LVI.	CHURCH, EDUCATION, AND LITERATURE	583
LVII.	MINING AND MANUFACTURES	590
LVIII.	AGRICULTURE AND STOCK-RAISING	599
LIX.	REVENUE, COMMERCE, AND COMMUNICATION	609

A POPULAR HISTORY

OF THE

MEXICAN PEOPLE.

PART I.—ABORIGINAL

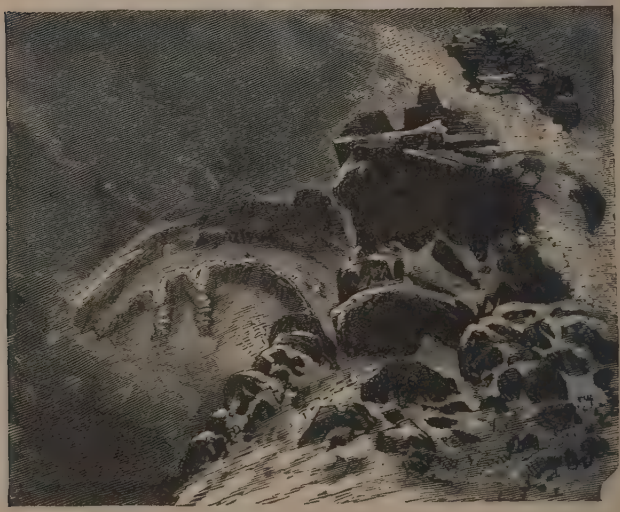
CHAPTER I.

GEOGRAPHY, CLIMATE, AND RACE.

THE portion of North America which, before the date of the Spanish conquest, was the home of civilization lay between latitudes 11° and 22°, extending from the north-west toward the south-east. On the Atlantic side it reached from the modern Mexican state of Tamaulipas to Honduras, and on the Pacific from the seaboard of Michoacan to Nicaragua. Few parts of the globe embrace, within equal limits, so great a variety of temperature, soil, and vegetation. In this region, which lies entirely within the northern tropic, are found all gradations of climate between the torrid and the temperate, the difference in the products of which the soil is capable being caused by altitude, and not as elsewhere by latitude. Thus on the lowlands, for instance, of Vera Cruz, tropical fruits, as the banana and date, are cultivated; on plateaux of moderate elevation, but in the same latitude, are produced the olive, orange, and grape; and on the higher plateaux, maize, wheat, and even the hardier kinds of grain.

The variations in the climate of this country are caused by its cordilleras, or mountain chains. The Sierra Madre enters it from the north in two principal ranges, one stretching

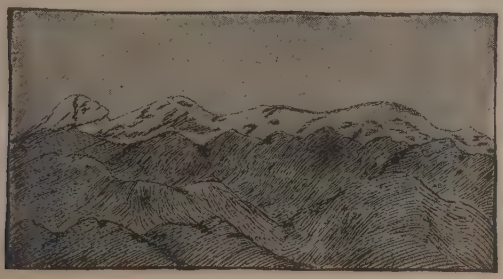
along the coast of the Pacific, and the other trending toward the Atlantic, though they again unite before reaching the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Between latitudes 18° 40′ and 20° 30′, the eastern branch of the Sierra opens out into a table-land, with an area of about 15,000 square miles, and an altitude of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet above the level of the sea.



SUMMIT OF POPOCATEPETL.

This broad plateau, or rather series of plateaux, is known as the tierra fria, or land of cold, while the lower valleys, between the two branches, are termed the tierra templada, or temperate region. From the surface of the upper table-land rise several ridges and isolated peaks of volcanic origin, the latter being the highest in North America; and the perpetual snow which covers their summits tempers the climate of the fertile tracts that lie at their base.

Centrally located on this table-land, and surrounded by a wall of lofty volcanic ridges and peaks, is the valley of Mexico, or, as it was called by the natives, Anáhuac, that is to say, 'country by the waters,' the name being suggested by the lakes that formed one tenth of its area. With a circuit of more than 160 miles and an elevation of about 7,500 feet, the valley of Anáhuac may be taken as fairly representing the tierra fria; and, as will presently appear, its inhabitants gradually overspread the entire series of plateaux between the branches of the Sierra Madre.

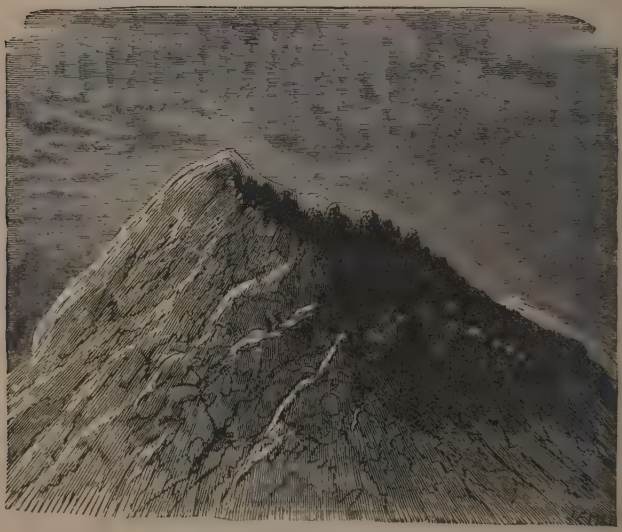


Summit of Iztaccihuatl.

This valley has a mean temperature of 62°, and a climate resembling that of southern Europe, though with a smaller rainfall. The term 'cold' can, therefore, only be applied to it by comparison with the lowlands of Mexico. The soil was in former days fertile and productive, though now presenting a bare and parched aspect, its forests being destroyed and its surface exposed to the excessive evaporation caused by a tropical sun. Oak and pine are the most prominent trees of native growth, and wheat, barley, and all European grains and fruits grow side by side with maize, the maguey, and the cactus, the three last being indigenous. From May to October, or during the hot season, rains are frequent, but seldom occur in the remaining portion of the year. For ten months

out of the twelve, deciduous trees retain their leaves, and are never entirely destitute of foliage.

As we travel from the valley of Mexico toward the south, the vegetation becomes more dense, and the greater heat of the sun, as we approach nearer to the equator, causes a higher temperature at equal altitudes. The same gradations



SUMMIT OF ORIZABA.

of tierra fria and tierra templada are, however, continued, blending into each other at an elevation of 5,000 to 6,000 feet.

On the coast of the gulf of Mexico is a broad extent of level plain and marsh, and farther inland is a gradual ascent to the interior highlands, the former, in common with the lowlands on the Pacific coast, being called the tierra caliente, or warm land. In the neighborhood of Vera Cruz are barren

CULTURE HERO — RELIEF IN STUCCO — PALENQUE, CHIAPAS.

and sandy tracts of desert land; but elsewhere the tierra caliente is covered with a dense tropical growth of trees, shrubs, vines, and flowers, forming in their natural growth an almost impenetrable thicket. The cocoa-palm, cotton plant, sugar-

cane, vanilla, and banana are among its flora, while the fauna includes birds with every variety of plumage, and myriads of insects and reptiles. The climate is dangerous to all except natives, for the surface, covered with decayed vegetable substances, breathes forth a deadly malaria. Southern Vera Cruz and Tabasco, through which flow several large rivers, their sources being in the mountains of Guatemala, Chiapas, and Tehuantepec, exhibit the most luxuriant display of nature's prodigality. The river-banks are crowded with forest trees, and in the broad savanas there is a net-work of canals and streams, serving not only for irrigation, but for the conveyance of the many native products, which form a considerable item in the commerce of the world.

Notwithstanding the general similarity of the native American nations in form, feature, color, hair, and speech, they were widely separated in culture. On the table-lands of Mexico, Central America, and Peru lived nations which, as compared with the rest of the world, may be properly termed civilized. North and south, and all around the border, the people were savages; while in New Mexico there was a class between the two.

The civilized nations of Mexico may be called the Nahua family, the members of which were of good stature, well proportioned, rather above medium size, of a light copper color, with long, black, obliquely pointed eyes, regular white teeth, glossy black hair, thin beard, prominent cheek-bones, thick lips, large aquiline nose, and retreating forehead. A gentle expression about the mouth was blended with severity and melancholy in the upper portion of the face. They were brave and intelligent, but blood-thirsty.

The terms 'savage' and 'civilized,' as applied to races of men, are relative, and not absolute. At best they mark only broad and shifting stages in human progress; the one near the point of departure, the other approaching a distant and almost unattainable end. There are degrees in savagism as

there are degrees in civilization, and though usually placed in opposition, one is but a degree of the other. The Haidah, whom we call savage, was as much superior to the Shoshone, the lowest of the natives of America, as was the Aztec to the Haidah, the European to the Aztec, and the ancient Greek to the modern European.

We all know what savages are: how, like wild animals, they depend for food and raiment on the spontaneous products of nature, migrating with the birds and the beasts, burrowing beneath the ground, hiding in caves, or throwing over themselves a shelter of bark, skins, branches, or boards, and eating or starving as food is abundant or scarce. Nevertheless, all of them have made some advancement from their original naked, helpless condition. Primeval man, the only true savage, does not exist on the globe to-day. Be the man never so low, lower almost in skill and wisdom than the brute, less active in obtaining food, less ingenious in procuring his abode, the first improvement on his houseless, comfortless condition, the first fashioning of a tool, the first attempt to cover his nakedness and wall out the wind, is the first step toward civilization. That which we call civilization is not an adjunct nor an acquirement of man, for no isolated man could by any possibility become civilized. It is rather the measure of the world's progress or progressional force, the general fund of the wealth, learning, and refinement of the nations of the earth, the storehouse of accumulated results, the essence of all that is best worth preserving from the distillations of good, not untinctured with the distillations of evil. In the brute creation this element of progress is wanting. The bird builds its nest, the bee its cell, the beaver its dam, with no more skill or care to-day than did the bird or beast or beaver a thousand years ago.

The savage nations of the Pacific states of North America may be divided into six distinct groups; namely, the Hyperboreans, living at the extreme north; the Columbians, whose lands are drained by the Columbia River; the Californians;

the New Mexicans; the wild tribes of Mexico; and the wild tribes of Central America.

The classification of man into species or races, so as to be able to designate by his organism—that is to say, form and features, size and shape of the skull, color of the skin and texture of the hair—the family to which he belongs, as well as the question of his origin, has been the subject of great diversity of opinion, from the fact that the various forms so graduate into each other that it is impossible to draw exact lines of partition.

One ethnologist divides the human family into two parts, according to the facial angle; others into three, four, five, and six parts, according to color; one makes three divisions according to hair, and others various divisions according to language. All nations may, however, be brought into one or another of the following geographical classes: American, European, African, and Asiatic; that is to say, the copper-colored Indian, the white Caucasian, the black negro, and the dark and yellow Malay and Mongolian.

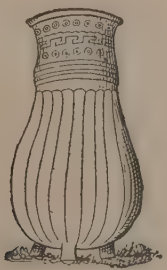
From the time when the different parts of the world first became known to each other, men have never ceased to wonder and try to tell where they all came from. The people of each part have a theory as to origin which they firmly believe to be true; but what is the origin of the others? Some contend that America was peopled from Europe, some from Africa, some from Asia; while others attempt to prove that Asia was settled by Americans, and Europe by Asiatics. Many believe that the Mexicans were originally Jews, descendants of the ten lost tribes of Israel.

It was obvious to the Europeans when they first beheld the natives of America, that these were unlike the intellectual white-skinned races of Europe, the barbarous blacks of Africa, or any nation or people which they had hitherto encountered; yet all except the Eskimos, at the extreme north, closely resembled each other.

There is no doubt that the nations of America are of a

remote antiquity. This is proved by their traditions, their ruins, and their moral and physical uniformity. The action of a climate peculiar to America, and of natural surroundings common to all the people of the continent, could not fail to produce in time a similarity of body and mind.

Among the most advanced of these nations were the Aztecs or Nahuas of Mexico, the Mayas and Quichés of Central America, and the Peruvians of South America. These may be called the civilized nations of America, while nearly all the rest must be classed among the savage nations of the world. The Aztecs, who were also called Mexicans, lived upon the table-land, extending along the continent between the two great oceans, their territory being a portion of Anáhuac.



White Marble Vase Found Near Vera Cruz.

CHAPTER II.

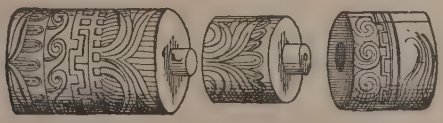
THE TOLTEC AND CHICHIMEC PERIODS.

During the sixth and seventh centuries of the Christian era we must imagine Anáhuac and the adjoining territory on the north and west gradually occupied by many Nahua

Basaltic Column — Tula.

nations of varying numbers and various degrees of civilization. Some were wild hunting tribes, powerful but rude, and the terror of their neighbors; others lived by agriculture, settling in the fertile valleys, and retaining much of their original culture. The three most powerful nations established themselves in and around the valley of Mexico, where their capitals soon became flourishing cities, and the people were called Toltecs, a word probably derived from *toltecas*, 'artificers,' but one which afterward became synonymous with all that is skilful and excellent in art. The first period of Nahua occupation was one of strife, during which the united bands became masters of the entire region south and east of the lakes.

Meanwhile other bands of Toltecs, from the regions toward the north, settled, after a long pilgrimage, on the banks of the river Quetzalatl, founding there a city named Tollan, on the site of the present village of Tula, about thirty miles north-west of Mexico. During the first six years of their stay, these tribes gave their attention to the building of the new city and the cultivation of the surrounding lands, all acting under the guidance of their prophet Hueman, though each tribe was ruled by its own chieftain. But in the seventh year the chiefs convened an assembly of the leading men for the purpose of establishing a monarchy, offering to surrender their power in favor of the king whom the people might choose. It was finally decided to send an embassy with pres-



SECTION OF COLUMN — TULA.

ents to the king of the Chichimecs, asking that one of their sons or near relatives be allowed to rule over them. The choice fell on the second son, whose name is unknown, but who was crowned at Tollan under the title of Chalchiuh Tlatonac, or 'shining precious stone.' After a prosperous reign of fifty-two years this monarch died, and was succeeded by his son, and he in turn by others. Of Quetzalcoatl, whose reign began in 873, mention is made elsewhere.

In the year 994 Huemac II. ascended the throne of Tollan, the city being at this date still the foremost in the empire. At first the new monarch enjoyed, in a remarkable degree, the confidence of his people, ruling with great wisdom, and attending strictly to his religious duties, and to the administration of justice. But soon he gave himself up to evil practices, indulging in the pleasures of the wine-cup, and dealing treacherously with his subjects. Thus the lords of various

provinces were incited to revolt; and now disasters in quick succession befell the empire of the Toltecs. A sorcerer named Toveyo gathered a vast crowd near Tollan, and kept them dancing to the beat of his drum until midnight, when, by reason of the darkness and their intoxication, they crowded each other over a precipice into a deep ravine, where they were turned into stone. A stone bridge was also broken by the necromancer, and thousands precipitated into the river. From one of the neighboring volcanoes poured forth a flood of glowing lava, and in its lurid light appeared frightful spectres threatening the capital.

In the hope of appeasing the angry gods, a sacrifice of captives was ordered; but when a young boy, chosen by lot as the first victim, was placed upon the altar, and the knife plunged into his breast, there was found no heart in his body, and his veins were without blood. The fetid odor exhaled from the corpse brought on a pestilence which caused the death of thousands. Then the Tlaloc deities appeared to Huemac, as he walked in the forest, and the monarch implored them not to deprive him of his wealth and his royal splendor. But the gods were wroth at his petition, and also at his selfishness and impenitence, and they departed from him, declaring that they would bring plagues upon the proud Toltecs for six years.

The winter of 1018 was so cold that all plants and seeds were killed by frost, and it was followed by a summer of intense heat, which parched the entire surface of the country, dried up the streams, and melted the solid rocks. The plagues began with heavy storms of rain, which lasted a hundred days, destroyed the ripening crops, flooded the streets and towns, and caused fear of a universal deluge. Furious gales followed, and toads in immense numbers covered the ground, consuming every green thing, and squatting in the dwellings of the people. The next year there was a terrible drought, which put a stop to all agricultural labor, and thousands died of starvation. The frosts of the following winter

destroyed the little that the heat had spared, not even the hardy maguey surviving. And now there came upon the land great swarms of locusts and other destructive insects. Lightning and hail completed the work of devastation, and it is related that during these visitations nine tenths of the people perished.

After the plagues had ceased, Huemac abandoned his evil ways, and gave his whole attention to promoting the welfare of his people; but he was resolved to place on the throne an illegitimate son, named Acxitl, in whose favor he was about to abdicate. The consequence was a new revolt under two leaders, who, after some negotiation, promised to support the royal cause, on condition of being raised to the highest rank, and allowed a share in the management of the kingdom. The new monarch ascended the throne in 1029, and for several years ruled wisely; but, like his father, he yielded to temptation, giving way to all manner of dissipation and riotous living. His example was followed both by the nobles and priests, and vice took possession of all classes of society. Public affairs were left to the management of the royal favorites; crime remained unpunished; robbery and murder were of frequent occurrence; and for all these iniquities the king was held responsible.

In the midst of other troubles came the news that Huehuetzin, the ruler of one of the Atlantic provinces, in league with two other lords who had refused to acknowledge the power of Acxitl, was marching toward Tollan, at the head of the rebel forces. Unable to resist them, the Toltec monarch sent ambassadors with rich presents, suing for peace, and thus a truce was obtained. Meanwhile many of the nations in and around Anáhuac declared their independence, and numerous Chichimec tribes took advantage of the opportunity to secure a foothold in the lake region.

It was evident that the gods were very angry, and to avert their wrath, a meeting was summoned at Teotihuacan, the sacred city of the Toltecs, of all the wise men, priests, and

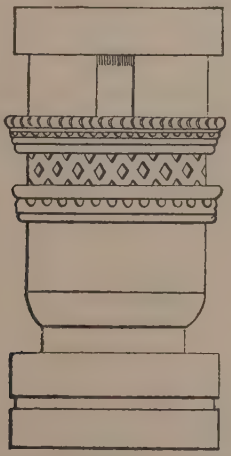
nobles. But while in the midst of their feasts and sacrifices, a demon of gigantic size, with long, bony arms and fingers, appeared, dancing in the court where the people were assembled. Whirling through the crowd in every direction, he seized upon all who came in his way and dashed them lifeless to the ground. Multitudes perished, for all were spellbound, and could not move from the spot. A second time the dread monster appeared, in a somewhat different form, and again the Toltecs fell by hundreds in his grasp. At his next appearance he took the form of a beautiful child, seated on a

MONOLITH FROM A TEOTIHUACAN MOUND.

rock, and gazing from a neighboring hill on the holy city. When the people rushed forth to observe this strange visitation, it was found that the child's head was a mass of corruption, exhaling a stench so fatal that all who approached were stricken with sudden death. Finally the demon appeared in a form not recorded, and warned the assembly that the fate of the Toltecs was sealed, that the gods would no longer listen to their petitions, and that the people could only escape annihilation by flight.

Many of the Toltec nobles had already abandoned their country, to seek refuge in other provinces, and this movement was constantly on the increase. Meanwhile, in the year 1060, the forces of Huehuetzin were again threatening Tollan. By

great effort an army had been raised and equipped for the defence of the city, and the aged Huemac had come forth from his retirement, striving to ward off the threatened destruction. It is even related that the king's mother enrolled bands of Amazons from the women of Tollan, and placed herself at their head. Acxitl, who commanded the forces, formed his troops in two divisions, one of which, under his most able general, marched forth to meet the enemy, while



THE FAINTING-STONE AT TEOTIHUACAN.

the other, under the king in person, lay intrenched at Tultitlan. For three years the Toltec general, supported by the Amazon bands and a detachment under Huemac, waged a doubtful war with the Chichimecs, but was finally driven back on Tultitlan. Here a desperate stand was made, and for many days the battle raged, until the Toltecs, sorely weakened in numbers, were compelled to retreat on Tollan. After a final encounter, the remnant of their army was scattered among the mountains and the marshes of Lake Tezcuco. Otompan, Tezcuco, and Culhuacan, the other principal cities

of the Toltecs, also fell before the invaders, and all of them were plundered and burned, with the exception of the last, which appears to have escaped destruction by admitting the conquerors within her gates, the inhabitants becoming their allies or vassals.

Such is the story of the rise and fall of the Toltec empire, as related in the annals of this period. According to some authorities, the population was reduced to a few thousands, most of whom abandoned the country, leaving only a few chiefs with a handful of followers in their desolate territory,

TERRA-COTTA HEAD — TEOTIHUACAN.

from which even the invading hordes were compelled to withdraw. This theory cannot be accepted as the truth. Admitting that their numbers were greatly diminished by war, pestilence, and famine, it is almost certain that the majority of the people remained in Anáhuac, and became subject to their conquerors. Although the records speak of a large Toltec migration in various directions, it must be remembered that the historic annals of the Nahuas deal only with the deeds and fortunes of priests, kings, and nobles, the masses being regarded as useful merely to fight and pay taxes, and altogether unworthy of a place in history. It is indeed probable that the word 'Toltec,' which was a title of distinction rather than a national name, was never applied to

the common people, and that the downfall of the empire was the overthrow of a dynasty, and not the destruction of a nation.

Many years before the downfall of Tollan, a border warfare had been carried on between the Toltecs and Chichimecs; but when the troubles of the former began, their troops were recalled from the frontier to defend the capital. Erelong the Chichimec monarchs, Acauhtzin and Xolotl, who, after the death of their father, had divided the kingdom between them, began to wonder at this sudden cessation of hostilities, and in order to ascertain its cause, sent forth spies into the territory of the Toltecs. Soon these men returned with the startling news, that for a distance of 200 leagues from the Chichimec frontier the enemy's country was deserted, and the towns abandoned and in ruins. Thereupon Xolotl summoned his vassals to Amaquemecan, the capital, told them what the spies reported, reminded them that more territory was needed for their increasing numbers, showed them how easy it would be to avenge on their fallen enemies the injuries of many years, and bade them prepare, within the space of six months, to join in an expedition against them.

It is related that no less than 3,202,000 men and women, besides children, answered his summons, and thus the expedition should be called rather a migration, for only 1,600,000 remained as the subjects of Acauhtz'in.

Arriving, after frequent halts, at Tollan, Xolotl found the place deserted, its streets overgrown with vegetation, and its temples and palaces in ruins; but as the site was too important to be abandoned, some families were left there to form the nucleus of a future population. The main body then continued its journey as far as Lake Xaltocan, where the people dwelt for a long time in the caves of that region, and afterward founded the town of Xoloc, or Xolotl, which in time became a prominent city of Anáhuac. Parties were now sent forth to explore the country, and on their return it was de-

cided that the neighborhood of Tultitlan was the best site for a capital. Xoloc was therefore left in charge of a governor, and opposite Tezcuco, on the other side of the lake, was founded in the year 1120 the town of Tenayocan.

To Xolotl succeeded a chieftain named Amacui, or Amacui Xolotl, whom we will call Xolotl II., one of his first acts being to remove the capital from Tenayocan to the foot of the mountains of Tezcuco. Calling his chiefs together, he took formal possession of the country, and soon afterward made a partition of the lands. To each lord was assigned a section of territory and a certain number of dependents, with instructions to build a town to be called after its founder. Toltec cities were to retain their original names, and orders were given that their inhabitants should not be molested by the Chichimecs. Settlements were also established on the coast, the entire extent of the lands thus appropriated being estimated at more than 200 leagues in circumference, and Xolotl II., as supreme ruler, now assumed the title of Great Lord and King of the Chichimecs.

Hitherto the invaders had met with no opposition from the Toltecs who remained in Anáhuac. Favored by the peaceful policy of Xolotl I., the latter had increased rapidly in wealth and numbers, more especially at Culhuacan, where reigned a monarch named Nauhyotl. Xolotl II., however, resolved to assert his authority throughout Anáhuac, sent word that he must do homage and also pay a small tribute, as a token of submission. To this demand Nauhyotl haughtily made answer that Toltec kings acknowledged no superiors but the gods, and paid tribute to no earthly sovereign.

Xolotl determined to crush his rival before he became too strong, and for this purpose ordered his son, Nopaltzin, to advance without delay upon Culhuacan. In the mean time Nauhyotl was not idle. Setting forth at the head of a force greatly inferior to that of the enemy, he attacked them without hesitation, and fought them valiantly until set of sun. Gradually, however, numbers began to tell until at length,

their commander being slain, the Toltecs were routed, and the Chichimecs gained possession of Culhuacan. Nopaltzin then gave orders that the dead monarch, whose death was regretted by the conquerors no less than by his subjects, should be buried with honors; and leaving a garrison in the town, set forth to announce his victory.

During the eleventh and twelfth centuries a number of Nahuatlaca tribes, or wild tribes of central Mexico, settled in Anáhuac, their original home being named Aztlan, the exact location of which is unknown. The causes that led to their migration are also matters of conjecture; but it is probable that they were driven out by their enemies, since Aztlan is described as a fair and fertile land. After several years of wandering, we find a number of them assembled at a place called Chicomoztoc, or 'the seven caves,' an ancient home of the gods. These were the Xochimilcans, Chalcans, Tepanecs, Acolhuans, Tlahuicans, Tlascaltecs, and Aztecs or Mexicans, to which some authorities add several others, most of them being so called after the localities where they afterward settled, in and around Anahuac.

At Chicomoztoc the Aztecs separated from the remainder of the tribes, and, as tradition relates, for the following reason: While the people were all seated at their meal, beneath the shadow of a great tree, a terrible noise issued from its summit. An idol, placed upon an altar at its foot, then called the Aztec chiefs aside, and commanded them to ask the other tribes to set forth in advance, leaving their people at the seven caves. After their separation Huitzilopochtli, the leader or deity of the Aztecs,—for the exact date of his death and deification cannot be ascertained,—told them that they were selected by the gods as a peculiar people, and one before whom lay a glorious future. He then ordered them to abandon their present name for that of Mexicans, and to wear upon their ears and foreheads patches of gum and feathers as distinguishing marks.

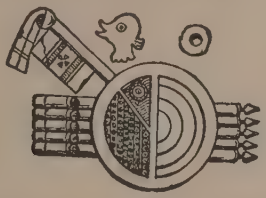
After many wanderings and wars, the story of which is too

tedious to relate, the Aztecs, as we shall still call them, built on an island amid the marshes of the western shore of Lake Tezcuco the city of Mexico, originally termed Mexico Tenochtitlan, paying to the king of the Tepanecs, to whom the lands belonged, a tribute in fish and other products of the lake. Of this city a brief description will be given in a later chapter. Meanwhile the other wild tribes of Central Mexico settled in various parts of Anáhuac, founded cities, and some of them were finally more or less amalgamated with the Toltecs and Chichimecs.

To Xolotl II. succeeded, as monarch of the Chichimecs, Nopaltzin, and to him Tlotzin Pochotl, whose successors were his son Quinantzin and Techotl I. During his reign, which lasted from 1305 to 1357, Techotl I. strove to re-establish the supremacy of the Toltecs. But to enumerate the deeds of all the Chichimec sovereigns would serve no purpose. The final chapter of their annals covers a period of three quarters of a century, extending from the death of Techotl to the formation of an alliance between the Acolhuans, Aztecs, and Tepanecs in 1431, and embraces the reign of three kings, or, as they were now termed, emperors. It is a record of ceaseless struggles for imperial sway between the Acolhuans and the Tepanecs, resulting in the triumph of the former, though with the aid of the Aztecs, who were admitted as equals in the final reconstruction of the empire. The part played by the other nations of Anáhuac, during this period, was that of allies to one of these powers, and sometimes of rebels, though usually they enjoyed their independence only until their former rulers found leisure to reduce them to allegiance.

The names of the three emperors were Ixtlilxochitl, Tezozomoc, and Maxtla; but of their wars, which were almost as tiresome as those of the Saxons in the early periods of English history, it is unnecessary to make further mention. Suffice it to say that at their close, about the year 1431, it was decided to re-establish the ancient Toltec confederacy of three kingdoms, independent as to their internal affairs, but acting

together in all matters that concerned the general interests of the empire. These dominions were Acolhuacan, with its capital at Tezcuco, and the Aztec and Tepanec kingdoms, with Mexico and Tlacopan for their chief cities.



ANCIENT COAT OF ARMS — CUERNAVACA.

CHAPTER III.

THE AZTECS.

THE early records of the Aztecs relate chiefly to a series of conquests by the allied forces of Tlacopan, Acolhua, and Mexico, in which those of the last-named power took the most active share. Thus it came to pass that the Mexicans became the masters of Anáhuac, and were on the point of subjugating even their own allies, or of becoming themselves the victims of their combined foes, when they were compelled to succumb to another powerful enemy who had come from beyond the seas. Aside from their frequent struggles, the history of the Aztecs contains little worthy of narration, that little pertaining to their public works, the building of temples, and the sacrifices of human victims wherewith they celebrated their victories, and the coronation of their kings, or made offerings to their deities on occasions when they desired to render thanks or to propitiate their favor.

Montezuma I., general-in-chief of the army and high-priest of Huitzilopochtli, was in the year 1440 crowned first king of the Mexicans, who had already become an independent nation. Before his coronation,—a point upon which all historians concur,—he organized an expedition against the Chalcans, for the purpose of obtaining captives for the sacrifices. Be it as it may, the fact stands that prior to and during his reign, that nation was constantly at war with the Mexicans. In 1443 the Chalcans, who had at times fought side by side with the Tepanecs, and at others as allies of the Acolhuans, but always feeling a deadly hatred against the Aztecs, undertook to measure their prowess with the allied kingdoms, their chief aim being to humiliate the Mexicans.

In order to provoke hostilities, they captured, and caused to be put to death, a party of noblemen, among whom were sev-

eral members of the royal family of Mexico, that had been found engaged in hunting near the frontier. The effect caused by this iniquity was electrical, and the Chalcans erelong had to confront the united force of the allied powers. The Chalcan army went out to meet them, and a series of fights ensued, lasting several weeks, without either of the hostile armies seeing its efforts crowned with success. At last, according to the old chronicles, a son of the Acolhuan monarch, then under sixteen years of age, by an act of daring and gallantry, caused victory to perch on the allied standard. Having paid a visit to his brothers in their tent, and being about to take a seat with them at table, they reminded him of his youth, saying that they would not allow a lad who had as yet done no act of bravery to sit in their company. Enraged, and at the same time keenly feeling the rebuke, the boy seized his arms, and rushing into the midst of the melée, he had the good fortune to make captive one of the enemy's most famous warriors. This brought on such a panic that the Chalcans were utterly routed, and the campaign ended with their city being taken, and its inhabitants made tributary to the allied powers.

A few years later, while the Aztec armies were engaged in foreign wars, the Chalcans took advantage of the opportunity to revolt. It is related that they seized and imprisoned several Mexicans of high rank, among them being a brother of Montezuma, whom they afterward proposed to elect king of Chalco. Pretending to give his consent, the latter requested them to erect a lofty platform, on which to execute certain mysterious ceremonies that would rouse the enthusiasm of the people in their new cause. But taking his stand on the summit, the captive prince denounced their treachery, called on the Mexicans to avenge him, predicted the defeat and slavery of the Chalcans, and then threw himself headlong to the ground below.

The total annihilation of this turbulent community was now resolved on by the kings of Mexico, Tezcuco, and Tlaco-

pan, and a peculiar air of mystery enshrouds the war which followed. During the time of preparation, of conflict, and of victory, the people of Mexico were constantly engaged in solemn processions, chants, prayers, and sacrifices, in honor of those who had fallen in other Chalcan wars. Signal fires blazed on the hills and in the watch-towers; and it is even said that the gods sent an earthquake to warn the foe of their impending doom. After the battle had raged for an entire day before the fated city, the Aztecs were again victorious. Vast numbers of the enemy fell in battle, or during the pursuit, and the rest were scattered in all directions, some preferring to die of cold and starvation in the mountains rather than submit to the conquerors. Most of the survivors were finally pardoned by Montezuma, and allowed to return to their city, where, in later years, they again broke out into revolt.

During the reign of Montezuma I., and that of his predecessor, Itzcoatl, many provinces were brought under Mexican rule, entirely or in part, and at the decease of the former monarch, which occurred in 1469, the Aztecs were masters of a broad tract of territory, extending from Anáhuac south-eastward to the gulf of Mexico. Notwithstanding six years of famine, during which thousands sold themselves into slavery in order to obtain food, the empire was now in a more prosperous condition than had ever before been known. As soon as the years of scarcity began, the public granaries were thrown open by royal command; but the supply of maize was soon exhausted, and there remained only the fish, birds, reptiles, and insects of the lake. When we read that a law was passed forbidding the sale of children for less than 400 ears of corn, we may form some idea of the severity of the distress.

Two years before the famine commenced, heavy and continuous rains caused the waters of the lake to overflow the city, destroying many buildings, and causing much loss of life. To guard against similar disasters, all the laborers that could be obtained in the three kingdoms were ordered to

Mexico. A dike seven or eight miles in length, and stretching from north to south in crescent form, was so constructed as to separate the waters of the lake, of which only the outer portion received its tributary streams. It was built of piles driven into the mud in double lines, and the space between filled in with stones and earth, the entire structure being thirty, or as some have it fifty, feet in width. Its surface, when flagged and cemented, afterward became a favorite promenade. This work is considered a masterpiece of engineering, and though in later years millions were expended by the Spaniards in protecting the city against inundation, the result was little more effectual.

In 1471 occurred the death of Nezahualcoyotl, king of Acolhuacan, and esteemed as the wisest of the Chichimec sovereigns. His adventures in early life have cast around his name a glamour of romance. Deprived of his ancestral throne at Tezcuco, he regained it by his valor, and the prominent part which he played in the wars of the allied monarchs has called forth the admiration of his biographers. His chief glory, however, was not his fame as a warrior, but his wisdom and justice as a ruler. During his reign he had made Tezcuco the centre of art, science, and culture, and his kingdom a model of sound government. Corrupt officials met with no mercy at his hands; but toward the poor, the aged, and the unfortunate, his kindness knew no bounds. He was in the habit of travelling in disguise among his subjects, visiting among the lower classes, relieving their wants, and obtaining useful hints for the perfection of his code of laws, in which he took special pride. As Tezcuco was the Athens of Anáhuac, so was this monarch the Solon of the Tezcucans. Himself a man of learning, and a poet of no mean order, he was never backward in promoting the cause of education; and in his religious views he was far in advance of his contemporaries.

To Montezuma I. succeeded the second of his three grandsons, Axayacatl, who, in order to obtain the human victims

for sacrifice, required by usage at his coronation, set forth on the most daring raid yet undertaken by the Aztecs. Marching rapidly southward by mountain routes, at the head of a large force, he suddenly presented himself before the Zapotec city of Tehuantepec. After having routed the opposing army, he drew them into an ambuscade by feigning retreat. He then entered and pillaged their city, and leaving there a strong garrison, returned to Mexico, laden with plunder, and with thousands of captives in his train, almost before his departure was known to the surrounding nations. Of the reign of Axayacatl, and of his brother Tizoc, who succeeded him, nothing more remains to be said. To follow the Aztecs in all their wars up to the time of the Spanish conquest would be a fruitless task, and yet, apart from these wars, there is little to relate.

In 1486, Ahuitzotl, the last of the three grandsons of Montezuma, was called to the throne. During the first year of his reign many wars were undertaken, their main object being to procure victims, not only for the coronation of the monarch, but also for the dedication of the grand temple of Huetzilopochtli, of which a description will be given later. The ceremony was witnessed, as the chroniclers relate, by millions of visitors, as well from hostile as from friendly provinces, the former being offered the choicest seats, and loaded with rich presents on their departure. The principal feature was, of course, the sacrifice of the captives, of whom it is said that from seventy to eighty thousand perished on the altar, the victims being arranged in two lines, stretching from the temple far out on the causeways. The kings began the work of butchery with their own hands, and the priests followed, each one continuing the slaughter until he was exhausted, when another took his place. This wholesale sacrifice was long remembered in Anáhuac as the largest that ever occurred there.

Between 1494 and 1497 the Mexican armies suffered a series of reverses, during which several of the conquered prov-

inces regained their freedom, among them that of Tehuantepec. Near the capital, on a series of plateaux, protected by a labyrinth of ravines, the Zapotec king had fortified an area sufficient to maintain his armies, and there awaited the approach of the Aztecs. As soon as the latter were fairly within the defiles, through which lay their route to the city, the enemy rushed down upon them from their mountain forts, and after several bloody battles, almost annihilated the invading force. The Aztecs could neither retreat nor advance, and day by day their leader saw his army melting away, prisoners being put to death by torture, except a few who were sent back to bear witness to their comrades of the strength and ferocity of the foe. When this disaster became known in Mexico, re-enforcements were four times sent to their relief within a year; but none could force the passage, or if they did, it was only to die with their brethren in arms. After a long career of victory, the Mexicans were fairly defeated, and sent to the king of the Zapotecs an embassy proposing peace and alliance. The result is unknown; but it is almost certain that the latter retained possession of Tehuantepec.

King Ahuitzotl died in 1503; and it is said that his death was occasioned by the haste with which he made his escape from the royal palace during a second flood, which occurred in 1500, striking his head against a door-post, and receiving an injury which a few years later proved fatal. He was a cruel, vindictive, and superstitious monarch, and if we concede to him the one redeeming trait which his admirers claim, —that of generosity,—it was closely connected with his well-known passion for display and flattery. He left the empire in the climax of its glory; and yet before his death the seeds of coming disaster had been sown and had taken root; for his frightful sacrifice of human victims filled Anáhuac with terror and hatred. Moreover, the campaign in Tehuantepec, and others which occurred during his reign, had taught the surrounding nations that the Aztecs were not, as they claimed, invincible.

When news of the death of Ahuitzotl was spread throughout the capital, the high-priest of Huitzilopochtli was a younger son of Axayacatl. He had already proved himself a skilful and valiant warrior, and as a statesman his voice had been heard with respect in the council-chamber of the Aztecs; but now, in a spirit of real or feigned humility, he had chosen a more humble occupation, and at this moment was engaged in sweeping out the floor of the temple. While thus employed, a party of nobles entered the building, and saluted him as monarch elect of Mexico. A few months later he assumed the crown, with the title of Montezuma II.

The story of his reign, until the time of the Spanish conquest, includes but a succession of campaigns against revolted provinces, varied with frequent sacrifices of human victims, and omens of disaster sent by the gods to trouble the mind of this the most pious of the monarchs. When at length the day drew near on which Mexico must struggle single-handed against the combined powers of Anáhuac, her last chance of success in this unequal contest disappeared with the arrival of the Spaniards.

Immediately after the accession of Montezuma II., war broke out with the Tlascaltecs, who, after a difficult campaign, maintained their ground against the Aztecs and their allies from Cholula, until, with the aid of Cortés, they were able to take revenge on their enemies. On the very year preceding the arrival of the Spaniards, wars were still being waged by the allied monarchs; for only by drenching with human blood the altars of the gods could they hope to avert impending disaster.

Meanwhile many signs and omens foreboded evil to the empire of the Montezumas. In 1507 occurred an eclipse and a violent earthquake. A few years later an army, sent to the province of Amatlan, perished from cold, and by the falling of trees and rocks; and a comet with three heads hung over Anáhuac. Then a strange light, in the form of a pyramid, appeared in the east, reaching from earth to sky, and from

midnight till morn could be plainly seen in all the provinces of Mexico for forty days, or as some relate, for an entire year. About the same time the towers of the great temple of Huitzilopochtli took fire without apparent cause, and were burned to ashes in spite of all efforts to extinguish the flames. In 1511 there fell near this temple a huge stone pillar, no one knowing whence it came, and in the same year armed men were seen fighting in the air. At a town called Tusupan an earthquake and deluge were reported; at Tecualoia a ferocious and horrible beast was captured, and a woman's voice was heard bewailing the fate of her children. Finally, at Tlascala, a bright light and a cloud of dust arose from the summit of a neighboring mountain to the very heavens, and men said one to another that the end of the world was at hand. To the nations which dwelt beyond the borders of Anáhuac all these dreadful phenomena were less terrible than to the Mexicans, for with their terror was mingled the hope of relief from the Aztec yoke.

Such are the records of the Aztecs before the date of the Spanish conquest; but these early records, like those of Greece and Rome, are more or less intermingled with myth and fable.

BAS-RELIEF FROM XOCHICALCO.

CHAPTER IV.

MYTHOLOGY AND TRADITION.

ALL that was written of the Mexicans by their Spanish conquerors cannot be believed. There was a constant tendency to exaggerate, on the part of the soldiers in order to magnify the strength and greatness of the peoples whom they had subdued, and on the part of the priests to magnify the importance of their spiritual conquest. Yet enough is known to prove that they were far advanced in civilization; more so, in some respects, than those who made them their subjects.

The primary indication of an absolute superiority in man over other animals is the faculty of speech. Brutes may have a gesture-language of their own; they may have the organs of speech, but they have not speech, for they have not the rational faculty whereby to originate and express it.

Every nation has its mythology, or religious traditions and belief; so that religious belief of some kind seems natural to the human race. Men realize the presence of a power, or powers, about them, which they cannot see. The endeavor to propitiate these unseen powers produces worship. Language is a symbol significant of thought; mythology is a symbol significant of soul. Language is thought incarnate; mythology is soul incarnate. In mythology language assumes personality and independence. Often the significance of the word becomes the essential idea. Zeus, from meaning simply sky, becomes the god of the sky; Eos, originally the dawn, is made the goddess of the opening day. Not the idea, but the expression of the idea, becomes the deity.

The traditions of primitive peoples are a mixture of truth and error; they are partly history and partly mythology. There never was a myth without a meaning, or a tradition without some element of truth. Many believe all mythologi-

cal personages to have been once real human heroes, the foundations of whose histories were laid in truth, while the structure was reared by fancy.

Mythology, as made up of legendary accounts of places and personages, is history; as relating to the genesis or origin of the gods, and the nature and adventures of divinities, is religion. In the myths of wild, untutored man is displayed an inherent desire to account for the origin of things, which has always commanded the profoundest attention of mankind. Within crude poetic imagery are enrolled religious beliefs, and are laid the foundations of systems of worship. Thus are explained the fundamental laws of nature; thus we are told how earth sprang from chaos, how men and beasts and plants were made, how heaven was peopled, and earth, and what were the relative powers and successive dynasties of the gods. Heroes are made gods; gods are materialized and brought down to men. One of the indications of man's superiority over brutes is the faculty whereby he worships. Animals look up to man as a being superior to themselves, and man regards with reverence and respect an unseen but supreme being. The wild beast to escape the storm flies howling to its den; the savage, awe-stricken, turns and prays. The lowest man perceives a hand behind the lightning, hears a voice abroad upon the storm, for which the highest brute has neither eye nor ear. Of the mythology of the native races of America may be made the following subdivisions, namely: origin and end of things; physical myths; animal myths; gods, supernatural beings, and worship; the future state.

There were two schools of opinion in Anáhuac as to the origin of things: one, the more advanced, and which flourished at Tezcuco, teaching that all things were made by one god, omnipotent and invisible; while the other held that several deities took part in the work of creation. There was quite a general belief that one personage was transformed by passing through fire into the sun, and another personage into

the moon. Their tradition of the flood was not unlike the story of Noah and the ark. In most of their painted manuscripts relating to it is a representation of a boat floating over a waste of waters, and containing a man and a woman. At the time of the flood it is said that the country was inhabited by giants, some of whom perished, others were turned into fishes, and a few found refuge in mountain caves. When the waters subsided, the survivors began to build an immense pyramid of brick, which rose up day by day until it threatened to reach the heavens; whereupon the gods became angry at their presumption, and hurled down fire upon the builders, so that the work was stopped. Here we have the counterpart of the story of the tower of Babel.

The worship of the sun and of other bodies in the firmament was almost universal in Mexico, among both the wild and civilized tribes. The sun was represented by a human face surrounded with rays, or by a full-length human figure. An eclipse caused much fright among the people, and it was believed that a total eclipse would entirely banish the light, and that demons would come down under cover of the darkness and devour the people. The Tlascaltecs regarded the sun and moon as husband and wife, believing eclipses to be caused by domestic quarrels, which would bring disaster on the world if peace were not made between them. The Mexicans specially worshipped a certain group of three stars in the sign Taurus of the zodiac. The planet Venus was also adored as the first light that appeared in the world, as the god of twilight, and, according to some, as being identical with the god Quetzalcoatl, of whom we shall hear later. Comets were called by a name signifying smoking star, and their appearance was believed to foretoken plague, famine, or the death of a prince.

Many of the native races of America had fire-gods, the Mexican fire-god being known by various names, though the most common one was Xiuhtecutli. While preserving his own identity, he was closely related to the sun-god, and

LIBRARY

many and various were the ceremonies by which he was recognized, the most important one being at the lighting of the new fire at the beginning of each Mexican cycle, or period of fifty-two years.

The wind was often considered as a god, or as the breath of a god, and in many of the native languages the great spirit and the great wind were the same, both in word and meaning. The name of the Nahua god Mixcoatl is said to be still the correct Mexican term for the whirlwind.

Just as the augurs and soothsayers of ancient Rome foretold future events from the song, flight, and feeding of birds, and from other signs, so did those of the Mexicans from many omens; as, the howling of wild beasts at night, the singing of birds, the hooting of the owl, the weasel crossing a traveller's path, the rabbit running into its burrow, or the chance movements of worms, beetles, ants, frogs, and mice. He who lost his life in battle died in the belief that his soul would finally take the form of a bird, and twitter throughout the countless ages of eternity under the purple shadow of the trees of paradise.

The Mexicans also ascribed to certain animals and agencies control over the various portions of the human body, much in the way that in later years astrologers and alchemists connected the stars with persons and substances. Thus the symbol of the deer was supposed to rule over the right foot; of the tiger, over the left foot; of the eagle, over the right hand; of the monkey, over the left; of the dog, over the nose; of the earthquake, over the tongue; of air, over the breath; of water, over the hair; and of death, over the skull.

The Mexican religion, as transmitted to us, is a confused and contradictory chaos of fragments. The Aztecs worshipped a supreme being whom they called Teotl, the *theos* of the Greeks, and who, being invisible and immutable, was not represented by any image, and probably not propitiated with sacrifices. In opposition to him was the evil spirit, the enemy of mankind, whom they termed Tlacatecolotl, that is to say,

'rational owl.' Next to Teotl was Tezcatlipoca, or 'shining mirror,' the soul of the universe and the creator of heaven and earth, though some traditions relate that the former created the world, mankind, the sun and the water, and was in a certain degree their ruler. But the idea of a single lord of the universe, who required no inferior gods to carry out his purposes, was one which they could not or did not conceive. They invented, therefore, a number of gods, who held sway over the elements, the seasons, and the affairs of men, and of whom there were more than a dozen principal, and some two or three hundred inferior, deities.

Tezcatlipoca, who was worshipped under various other names, appears to have been generally considered the most important of the Mexican deities. His principal image, at least in the city of Mexico, was cut out of a shining black stone, called *itzli*, a species of obsidian, resembling dark glass. The statue was that of a young man, whereby was intended to be set forth the immortality of the god. His ears were bright with ear-rings of gold and silver. His lower lip was pierced with a small crystal tube, through which was drawn a green or blue feather, giving to this ornament the tint sometimes of an emerald and sometimes of a turquoise. The hair was drawn into a queue, and bound with a ribbon of burnished gold, to the end of which was attached a golden ear, with tongues of ascending smoke painted thereon. The smoke signified the prayers of the sinful and afflicted, who, commending themselves to him, were favorably heard, for unto Tezcatlipoca, the ever-young and ever-powerful, it was given to mete out rewards and punishments.

Upon the head of this personage were plumes of red and green feathers, and from his neck depended a golden jewel that covered all his breast. Bracelets of gold encircled his arms, and in his navel was a precious green stone. In his left hand flashed a great circular mirror of gold, bordered, like a fan, with costly feathers, green and azure and yellow. On this were fixed the eyes of the god, for therein he saw

reflected all that was done in the world. To his feet were attached twenty bells of gold, and to his right foot the hoof of a deer, to signify his exceeding swiftness. Covering his shining black body was a great cloak, curiously wrought in black and white, adorned with feathers, and fringed with rosettes of red and white and black. He was sometimes represented as seated on a bench covered with a red cloth, on which were wrought pictures of skulls, and having in his right hand four darts, the meaning of which was probably that he punished sin. In order to bring the worship of Tezcatlipoca prominently before the people, seats of stone were placed at the corners of the streets, on which the god might rest, whenever he walked invisibly abroad. Mortal man must not sit thereon; not even the king himself. Sacred they were, sacred forever, and covered always with a canopy of green boughs, renewed every five days with becoming reverence.

But Tezcatlipoca does not always appear as a just or benign ruler. Descending from heaven on a rope made of spider's web, he came to the town of Tulla, the capital of the Toltecs, where dwelt their national deity, Quetzalcoatl, a beneficent being, the god of the air, the sun, and the rain, and the source of all prosperity, one who is said to have taken the shape of man in order to instruct and improve the inhabitants of earth. Quetzalcoatl—*quetzal*, a bird of plumage, and *coatl*, a serpent, or in one word, feathered-snake—is represented as a tall white man, broad of brow, with large, mild eyes, black hair, and a heavy beard. He wore garments reaching to his feet, over which was thrown a long white robe, decorated with crosses; on his head was a mitre, and in his right hand a sickle. From a volcano near Tulla, its name signifying 'the mountain of outcry,' he gave laws to his people, sending first to its top a crier, whose voice could be heard a hundred leagues away. He taught them agriculture, metallurgy, stone-cutting, and the science of government. He also arranged their calendar, or helped them to arrange it, and gave

them fit religious ceremonies, preaching specially against human sacrifices, and ordering in their stead offerings of fruit and flowers.

This was a veritable golden age, as in the time of Saturn; and men and animals lived in peace, the soil producing the richest harvests without cultivation. A single ear of corn was all that a man could carry; fruits of all kinds abounded; melons grew to the height of the human body; and the stalks of the wild amarinth were so large and thick that people climbed them like trees. Cotton was not cultivated or dyed, for it grew wild and of every color, and all things were in like manner perfect and abundant. The very birds in the trees sang such songs as have never yet been heard, and flashed such marvellous beauties in the sun as no plumage of later times could rival. The people were rich, without an exception, and their ruler owned palaces of gold and silver and precious stones, of white and red shells, and rich feathers.

But one day there appeared to Quetzalcoatl a personage disguised as an old man, who persuaded him to depart to his home in Tlalpalla, near the sea, and for this purpose induced him to accept a drink, which he said would endow him with immortality. It was Tezcatlicopa. And now this bright vision of happiness came to an end. No sooner had Quetzalcoatl tasted the drink than he was seized with an uncontrollable desire to visit his native country. He destroyed all his palaces, transformed the fruit-trees into withered trunks, and bade the song-birds accompany him. Thus he departed, and during his journey the birds entertained him with their warbling.

Travelling at first southward, through a portion of Anáhuac, he turned toward the east, and arrived at Cholula, where the inhabitants intrusted him with the government of their state, and the order of things which had prevailed at Tulla was for a time renewed. From Cholula his fame spread far and wide, temples being everywhere built in his honor, even by the enemies of the Cholulans. After sojourn-

ing here for twenty years, he proceeded toward Tlalpalla, until he reached a spot called the Hiding-nook of the Snakes, south of Vera Cruz. Thence he sent back four youths who had accompanied him from Cholula, promising to return later, resume his government, and restore the prosperity which had attended his coming. But Quetzalcoatl did not return. According to some accounts, he died in the Hiding-nook of the Snakes; according to others, he suddenly disappeared toward the east, and a ship, formed of snakes wound together, brought him safely to Tlalpalla. Meanwhile the four youths were placed at the head of affairs, and even on the arrival of Cortés, a few centuries later, the Mexican nations were still awaiting his return, and for a time believed their conqueror to be the feathered-snake deity, the god of the air and the winds.

The fable of Quetzalcoatl contains many contradictions, of which I will mention only one. If, during his reign, everything grew spontaneously, without human labor, for what purpose did the god teach his people agriculture and other industries requiring application and hard work?

Huitzilopochtli, the Mexican god of war, was also a god of the air and of heaven, and the national deity of the Aztecs, as was Quetzalcoatl of the Toltecs. Translated into literal English, the name means a humming-bird on the left side, from *huitzlin*, a humming-bird, and *opochtli*, left, the final syllable being omitted in connecting Aztec words. The statues of this god frequently represented him as wearing the feathers of a humming-bird on his left foot, and in other respects the decoration was not inappropriate; for of all winged creatures, this bird is one of the most courageous, attacking others ten times its own size, flying into their eyes, and using its sharp bill as a weapon.

Like Mars and Odin, the Mexican war-god held in his right hand a spear or bow, while in his left was sometimes a bundle of arrows, and sometimes a shield, in which were placed four darts, sent down to him from heaven, wherewith

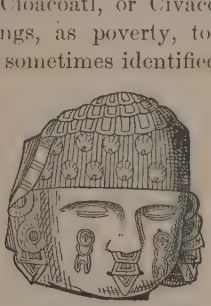
to perform heroic deeds. It is related that, perfect at his birth as sprang Minerva from the cranium of Jove, he rose up with a mighty war shout, and grasping his shield and spear, his face and arms barred with lines of blue, and plumes of green nodding terribly from his head, fell on his opponents, plundered their dwellings, and brought home the spoils. Hence he was also called Terror and the Frightful God.

HUITZILOPOCHTLI, GOD OF WAR.

Tlaloc, the god of water and rain, and the fertilizer of the earth, is sometimes represented as sitting side by side with Huitzilopochtli in his great temple. According to tradition, his dwelling was where the clouds gather, upon the highest mountain tops, and his attributes were the thunder-bolt, the flash, and the thunder. Chalchihuitlicue, who resided in the storm clouds, was his companion goddess. It was also believed that among the hills dwelt other gods, subordinate to Tlaloc, but all bearing his name, and revered, not only as gods of water, but also as gods of mountains. The prominent colors of the image of Tlaloc were azure and green, thus symbolizing the shades of water.

Centeotl, *centli*, maize, known under many names and in

many different characters, was the goddess, or as some have it the god, of corn. She was held in special honor by the Totonacs, who inhabited the country east of the valley of Mexico. Among them she was the chief object of worship, and was greatly beloved because she did not require human sacrifices, but was content with flowers and fruits, bananas and maize, and small animals and birds, as rabbits, quails, and doves. Chicomecoatl, the goddess of provisions, both solid and fluid, and Cioacoatl, or Civacoatl, though the goddess of adverse things, as poverty, toil, and sorrow, were among the divinities sometimes identified with Centeotl.



HEAD OF GODDESS CENTEOTL.

The Mexican god of fire was usually called Xiuhtecutli, though he had other names, which, translated literally, signified 'yellow-faced,' 'flame of fire,' and 'ancient god.' He was believed by the people to be their father, and was regarded with feelings of mingled love and fear. Every year two festivals were celebrated in his honor, and on all occasions it was the custom at meals for each one to offer to him the first morsel of food, by throwing it into the fire.

The hades of the Mexicans, or their place of departed spirits, was termed Mictlan, a word signifying either primarily or by an acquired meaning 'toward the north.' Here held sway a god best known as Mictlantecutli, and his spouse Mictlanciuatl. For the wicked there were supposed to be nine different places of abode, in the last of which their souls were annihilated, though it was believed that their only punishment was to be deprived of light.

The mind of man shrinks by instinct from the thought of utter annihilation, and ever clings to the hope of a future which shall be better than the present, though he may have no such assurance that he will enjoy that future as have the bee and the busy ant that they will enjoy the winter for which they prepare. But as man's ideal of supreme happiness depends on his culture, tastes, and condition in this life, we find among different people widely differing conceptions of the hereafter. Thus the intellectual Greek looked forward to more varied and refined enjoyment in his elysium than did the viking or pirate chief of northern Europe, whose sole idea

MICTLANTECUTLI, GOD OF HELL.

of heaven was that of a scene of continuous gluttony, wassail, and strife.

In the heaven of the Mexicans were various degrees of happiness, and to each was appointed his place according to his rank and deserts in this life. The high-born warrior who fell gloriously in battle did not meet on equal terms with the base-born rustic who died ingloriously in his bed. Even in the House of the Sun, the most blissful abode of the brave, the ordinary vocations of life were not entirely dispensed with, and after their singing and dancing, the man took up his bow again and the woman her spindle. In the lower heavens there was little positive happiness, and those who had lived an obscure life and died a natural death followed their occupations by twilight, or passed their time in a condition of torpor.

Enough has now been said concerning the mythology of

the Mexicans, though besides those which have been described there were other deities without number. There was a god of banquets and of guests, a god called 'the little negro,' who cured children of various complaints, a god of fishermen, a god of mat-makers, and there were gods whose names had no particular significance. Finally, there were household gods, resembling somewhat the penates of the Romans, of which the kings kept six in their houses, the nobles four, and

BURIAL VASE, WITH LID.

others two. Whether these formed a special class of gods, or were merely small images of more prominent idols, it is difficult to decide. There were similar idols in the streets, at cross-roads, at fountains, and other places of traffic and resort.

Mention has been made of human victims offered in sacrifice; and there is no doubt that many thousands were slaughtered each year for this purpose. The numbers that were butchered it is impossible to ascertain; but according to

some authorities, in the capital alone the annual sacrifices amounted to no less than twenty thousand. The victims were, for the most part, captives taken in war, and war was often made solely with a view to obtaining them. A large proportion, however, consisted of condemned criminals, of slaves, and even of children, bought or presented for the purpose. Moreover, persons sometimes offered themselves voluntarily for the good of the people or for the honor of a god. The greater part of the victims died under the knife, but some were burned alive, and children were often buried alive or drowned, while we hear of criminals being crushed to death between stones. But the most cruel sacrifice of all, and yet the most common, was performed by tearing out the heart of a living human creature at the sacrificial stone.

SCULPTURE ON THE SACRIFICIAL STONE.

CHAPTER V.

GOVERNMENT, ROYALTY, AND ROYAL PALACES.

To define exactly the limits of the Aztec empire is difficult, for its boundaries were constantly changing as various tribes were brought under Mexican rule, or by successful revolt threw off the yoke. Not restricting it to its original seat in the valley of Mexico, nor including all the nations which, at one time or another, were compelled by the fortune of war to pay tribute, it may be said to have extended over the territory comprised in the present states of Mexico, southern Vera Cruz, and Guerrero. Of all the nations that occupied this territory, most of them, as I have said, were of one blood and language with their masters, and all possessed, in greater or less degree, the Nahua culture. Of many of the nations occupying the vast region of which the valley of Mexico is the centre, nothing is known except their names and their resemblance, near or remote, to the Aztecs.

Soon after the opening of the sixteenth century, a desperate struggle was imminent, in which the Aztecs, pitted against all central Mexico, would have grasped the prize of imperial power, or been crushed by a coalition of many nations. It was at this juncture that Cortés appeared, and after aiding the foes of Montezuma to triumph, fastened on them in turn the shackles of European despotism. But before describing the Spanish conquest, I shall give some account of the government and institutions of the Aztecs, their kings and their palaces, their nobles and their slaves, their festivals and amusements, their food and dress, their commerce, arts, and manufactures, touching also on some other topics which may serve to show what manner of people held sway in Anáhuac before the advent of the Spaniard.

First, then, as to government. Among the civilized nations

of Mexico the prevailing form of government was monarchy, and as a rule absolute monarchy, though some of the smaller states, as Tlascala, were nominally republics. The eldest surviving brother of the deceased monarch was usually elected to the throne, and if there was no surviving brother, then the nephew, commencing with the eldest son of the first brother who had died. But this order was not strictly observed, for the electors, though limited in choice to one family, could set aside the claims of those whom they considered incompetent to reign. In the early days of the Mexican dominion the king was elected by a vote of the people, who were guided, however, by their leaders, even the women appearing to have a voice in the matter. In later years the election of the monarch devolved upon four or five of the chief men of the empire.

The authority vested in the person of the sovereign made necessary the utmost care in his selection. It was essential that the ruler of a people, surrounded by enemies and continually bent on conquest, should be an approved and valiant warrior. Having the personal direction of the affairs of state, he must be a deep and subtle politician; while the superstition of the Aztecs required their ruler to be well versed in the tenets of their religion, and one who held the gods in reverence. It is also shown in the records of the nation that he was usually a man of culture and a patron of the arts and sciences.

Although the king was ostensibly the supreme head of the state, he was expected, before deciding on any important step, to confer with his council, which was composed of the electors and other important personages. While the legislative power, or power of making laws, was entirely in his hands, the executive power, or power of administering the laws, was intrusted to officials and courts of justice. As the empire grew in greatness the royal power gradually increased, until, in the reign of Montezuma II., the authority of all tribunals was reduced to a dead letter if opposed to the will of the monarch.

The pomp and circumstance which surrounded the Aztec

monarchs, and the splendor in which their lives were passed, excited the wonder of their conquerors. From the moment of their coronation they lived in an atmosphere of adulation unknown to the mightiest potentate of the Old World. Reverenced as a god, the haughtiest nobles, sovereigns in their own land, humbled themselves before him; absolute in power, the fate of thousands depended on a gesture of his hand.

The ceremony of anointing, which preceded and was entirely apart from that of coronation, was an occasion of much display. On the death of a sovereign his successor was immediately appointed, and the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, together with the great feudatory lords, were invited to attend. When all were assembled, the procession set forth for the temple of Huitzilopochtli. At its head were the two monarchs, surrounded by the most powerful nobles of the realm, bearing their ensigns and insignia of rank. Then came the king elect, unclad, except for the maxtli, or cloth about the loins, followed by the lesser nobles, after whom came the common people. Silently the vast procession wended its way through the streets, no beat of drum nor shout of populace being heard above the tramp of the multitude. The road was as free from obstruction as a corridor in the royal palace, for all stood aloof with bended head and downcast eye while the solemn pageant passed on its way toward the shrine of the god of battles.

Arriving at the temple, the king, and those among the procession who had preceded him, ascended to its summit, which was reached by a flight of more than a hundred steps, each one a foot in height, and so arranged that it was necessary to pass around the building several times before standing beneath its pinnacle. At a terrace on the top of the staircase the king was met by the high-priest and his colleagues, the people meanwhile remaining below. Here he first did obeisance to the god of war, by touching the earth with his hand and conveying it to his mouth. The high-priest then anointed him with a certain black ointment, afterward sprinkling him with

water which had been sanctified at the grand feast of Huitzilopochtli, using for this purpose branches of cedar and willow and leaves of maize, and at the same time addressing to him a few words of counsel. The monarch was then arrayed in a mantle, on which were wrought pictures of skulls and bones, to remind him probably that even kings are mortal. His head was covered with two vails of blue and black, and to his neck was tied a small gourd containing a powder which was considered a charm against disease, sorcery, and treason. A censer of live coals was placed in his right hand, and in his left a bag of copal, wherewith he offered incense to the war-god, falling on his knees amidst the cheers of the multitude and the strains of musical instruments.

This ceremony ended, the high-priest again addressed him, somewhat as follows: "Consider well, sire, the great honor which your subjects have conferred upon you, and remember, now that you are king, that it is your duty to watch over your people with unfailing solicitude, to look upon them as your children, to preserve them from suffering, and to protect the weak from the oppression of the strong. Behold before you the chiefs of your kingdom, together with all your subjects, to whom you stand in the place of a parent, for it is you to whom they turn for protection. It is now your duty to command and to govern; and especially is it your duty to bestow attention on all matters relating to war, to search out and punish criminals without regard to rank, to stamp out rebellion, and to chastise the seditious. Let not the cause of religion decline during your reign; see that the temples are well cared for, and that there is ever an abundance of victims for sacrifice; so will you prosper in all your undertakings, and win the approval of the gods." The allied kings and nobles then addressed him in similar phrase, to which he responded with thanks, and promises to exert himself to the utmost for the welfare of the state.

The speeches concluded, the procession descended the staircase, reaching the ground in the same order in which it had

ascended. After receiving homage and gifts from the nobles, amid the acclaims of the people, the king was escorted to a temple named Tlacatecco, where, for four days, he remained in solitude, engaged in prayer and penance. At noon, and again at midnight, he bathed, and after each bath, drew blood from his ears, offering it, together with some burnt copal, to the god of war. On the fifth day he was conducted in state to the royal palace, and then followed great public rejoicings, with games and feasts, dances and illuminations.

In order to prepare for the ceremony of coronation, it was necessary, as will be remembered, that the king should go to war and thus procure victims for sacrifice. The Aztecs were seldom without enemies on whom war might be made. Either some province of the kingdom had rebelled, or Mexican merchants had been unjustly put to death, or insult had been offered to the royal ambassadors, or, if none of these excuses were at hand, the importance of the occasion alone rendered war justifiable. Of the manner in which war was waged, and of the triumphal return of the victorious army, I have spoken elsewhere in my narrative.

At the coronation, the diadem was placed on the monarch's head by the king of Tezcuco. The crown, which was called by the Mexicans *copilli*, was in the shape of a small mitre, the fore part standing erect and terminating in a point, while the hinder portion hung down over the neck. It was composed of various materials, according to the pleasure of the wearer, being sometimes of thin plates of gold, and sometimes of golden threads woven together and adorned with beautiful feathers.

As to the ceremonies attending the coronation there are no reliable accounts, though all authorities agree that they were of unparalleled splendor. The king entertained at his palace all the great nobles of the realm; honors were conferred with lavish hand, and gifts in profusion were presented and accepted by the monarch. There were royal banquets, in which all the nobility of the kingdom participated, and the

lower classes were feasted and entertained with the utmost liberality. The Aztecs were no less fond of public festivals and games than were the Romans in the days of the Cæsars, and in no way could a sovereign better secure a place in the affections of his subjects than by inaugurating his reign with a series of splendid entertainments.

The principal palace in the city of Mexico consisted of an irregular pile of low buildings, of vast extent, and constructed of huge blocks of porous stone, cemented with mortar. The buildings were so arranged that they enclosed three great plazas, or public squares, in one of which a fountain was incessantly playing. Twenty large doors opened on the squares and on the streets, over them being sculptured the coat of arms of the kings of Mexico,—an eagle grasping in his talons a jaguar. In the interior were halls of an immense size, and it is said that one of them was large enough to contain 3,000 persons; while on the terrace that formed its roof thirty men on horseback could be drilled in the spear exercise. Splendid suites of apartments were retained for the kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan with their followers, and for the ministers and counsellors, the great lords and their suites, who constantly resided at the capital. There were also more than a hundred smaller rooms, and the same number of marble baths, and there were chambers for the private attendants of the king, whose name was legion. In the vicinity of the palace buildings, or forming part of them, were the armory, the granaries, storehouses, menageries, and aviaries.

Many of the walls and floors were faced with polished slabs of marble, porphyry, jasper, obsidian, and white tecali, a stone resembling alabaster. Lofty columns of the same material supported balconies and porticos, of which every corner was filled with wondrous carvings or grotesquely sculptured heads. The beams and casings were of cedar, cypress, and other valuable woods, profusely carved and put together without nails. The roofs of the palace buildings formed a suite of terraces, from which was obtained a magnificent view of the entire city.

Mats, curiously wrought and of exquisite finish, were spread over the marble floors, and the tapestry which draped the walls and the curtains that hung before the windows were of a fabric remarkable for its delicate texture, elegant designs, and brilliant colors. Throughout the halls and corridors, a thousand golden censers, in which burned precious spices and perfumes, diffused a subtile odor.

The palace of the king of Tezcuco surpassed in many respects even that of the Montezumas. Forming a collection of buildings which contained not only the royal residence, but also the public offices and courts of law, it extended from east to west 1,235 yards, and from north to south 978 yards. Around it was a wall strongly cemented and built on a foundation of hard mortar, three times the height of a man's stature on the southern and eastern sides, and five times that height on the north and west. Around the inner court-yard were the halls of justice, and in its centre was a tennis-ground; on the west side were the apartments of the king, all admirably arranged, and more than 300 in number. Here also were storehouses for tribute, and splendid suites of apartments reserved for the kings of Mexico and Tlacopan, opening into the royal pleasure-gardens, where there were walks artistically laid out among the dark foliage, sparkling fountains, and shady groves of cedar and cypress, ponds well stocked with fish, extensive menageries, and aviaries filled with birds of every hue and species.

The city of Mexico, however, contained the largest collection of birds and animals, the Aztec kings, and especially Montezuma II., taking special pleasure in their aviaries and menageries. For this purpose the latter monarch caused to be erected in the capital an immense edifice, surrounded with extensive gardens, one portion of it consisting of a large open court, paved with stones of different colors, and divided into several compartments, in which were kept wild beasts, reptiles, and birds of prey. The larger animals were confined in low wooden cages, made of massive beams, and

the birds of prey were distributed, according to their species, in subterranean chambers. Half of each chamber was roofed with slabs of stone, under which were perches where they might sleep and be protected from the rain, the other half being covered only with a wooden grating, which admitted air and light. So vast was their number that 500 turkeys were killed each day to supply them with food. Serpents were confined in long cages or vessels, large enough to permit freedom of motion, and alligators were kept in ponds, walled around to prevent their escape.

In another part of the building was an immense hall which served as an aviary, in which were gathered specimens of all winged creatures found in the empire, apart from birds of prey. They were of infinite variety and splendid plumage, many specimens being so difficult to obtain that their feathers brought fabulous prices in the markets of Mexico. Those which, on account of their extreme rarity, or the fact that they died under confinement, did not appear in the royal aviary, were represented by images skilfully wrought in gold and silver.

Marble galleries, supported by pillars of jasper, surrounded the entire building, and looked out upon a large garden in which were groves of rare trees, fountains, and choice shrubbery and flowers. But the most prominent feature in the garden was the large ponds constructed for the reception of water fowls, some of them being filled with fresh and some with salt water, which was drained off and renewed when it began to grow stagnant. Each pond was surrounded with a tessellated marble pavement, and shaded with groups of trees; and here Montezuma is said to have passed much of his time, musing on the affairs of state, or diverting his mind while seated in the shade, amid the plashing of fountains and the odor of flowers.

In addition to their city palaces, the Aztec monarchs had many splendid country residences, besides large tracts of territory set apart as royal hunting-grounds. The principal villa

of Montezuma II., and the only one of which any traces remain, stood on the hill of Chapultepec, in a westerly direction from the capital. At the date of which we are speaking,—that is, early in the sixteenth century,—the lake of Tezcuco washed the base of the hill, round which the royal grounds stretched for miles in every direction. The gardens were laid out in terraces which wound along the hillside amid dense groves of pepper-trees, myrtles, and cypresses, innumerable fountains, and artificial cascades. Little of the ancient glory of either palace or gardens remain, except the groves of gigantic cypresses, the natural beauty of the foliage that clothes the hill, and the magnificent view to be obtained from the summit.

If we can believe tradition, the Toltec sovereigns erected palaces no less magnificent than those of their Aztec successors. The sacred palace of Quetzalcoatl contained four principal halls, facing the four cardinal points. The one on the east was termed the Hall of Gold, being ornamented with plates of that metal, delicately chased and finished. The apartment lying toward the west was named the Hall of Emeralds and Turquoises, and its walls were profusely adorned with all kinds of precious stones. The hall facing the south was decorated with plates of silver and with brilliant colored sea-shells, fitted together with remarkable skill. The fourth hall, which was on the north, was enclosed with walls of red jasper, covered with carvings and ornamented with shells. Another of these palaces or temples—for it is not clear which they were—had also four principal halls, decorated entirely with feather-work tapestry, in yellow and blue and white and red.

The number of attendants attached to the royal houses was very great. Every day, from sunrise until sunset, the antechambers of Montezuma's residence in the capital were thronged with nobles, who discussed in low tones the topics of the day, for it was considered disrespectful to speak loudly within the walls of the palace. They took their meals from

the dishes provided for the royal table, as did, after them, their own servants, of whom each one was entitled to a certain number according to his rank. These retainers filled several of the outer courts during the day, numbering in all some two or three thousand.

The king took his meals alone, in one of the largest halls of the palace. In cold weather a fire was kindled of charcoal, made of the bark of trees, which emitted no smoke, but gave forth a delicious perfume; and to protect him from the heat, a screen, ornamented with gold, and carved with figures of idols, was placed between his person and the fire. He was seated on a low leathern cushion, covered with soft skins, and his table, which was of a similar description though larger and higher, was covered with white cloths of the finest texture. The dinner service was of the finest wares of Cholulu, and many of the goblets were of gold and silver, or of beautiful shells. The viands included all descriptions of fish, flesh, and fowl that could be procured in the empire or imported from beyond it. Relays of couriers were employed in bringing delicacies from afar; and it is said that the royal table was every day supplied with fish brought from the sea-coast, more than fifty leagues distant.

There were skilful cooks among the Aztecs, and in preparing the royal banquets there was almost as much variety in the cooking as in the materials used. Meats, fish, and poultry, roasted, stewed, and boiled, were served up in every style, and among them were many curious messes, such as frog spawn and stewed ants seasoned with chile. But strangest of all the compounds that made up the royal carte was one highly seasoned dish, so carefully prepared that its principal ingredient was completely disguised, that ingredient being human flesh.

Bread of many varieties, all more or less resembling the modern tortilla, or unleavened cake of maize, and tamales of various descriptions,—the tamale being a compound of meat, vegetables, herbs, and lard coated with maize dough and

wrapped in a corn husk,—formed a portion of each repast. As to the quantities of food prepared for these meals, authorities differ; but it must have been enormous; for the lowest estimate places the number of dishes at 300 and the highest at 3,000. They were brought into the hall by pages of noble birth, who placed their burdens upon the matted floor and retired noiselessly. The monarch then pointed out the viands of which he desired to partake, or left the selection to his steward, who alone was privileged to place them upon his table.

Everything being in readiness, a number of beautiful women entered, bearing water in round vessels, in which the king might wash his hands, and towels wherewith to dry them. At the same time two other women brought him small loaves of bread made of the finest maize flour beaten up with eggs. This done, a wooden screen, carved and gilt, was placed before him, that none might see him eat except the five or six aged lords, who on these occasions stood in the presence of royalty, barefooted and with bowed heads. To these, as a special mark of favor, the monarch occasionally sent a choice morsel from his own plate.

During his meal the king sometimes amused himself with watching the performances of his jugglers and tumblers, and at other times there was dancing, accompanied with singing and music. There were always present dwarfs and professional jesters, who were allowed to speak,—a liberty denied to all others under penalty of death,—and, as one of the privileges of their calling, to tell sharp truths in guise of jests.

The more solid food was followed by pastry, sweetmeats, and a variety of fruits. The only beverage served at the meal was chocolate, which was taken with a spoon finely wrought of gold or shell from a goblet of the same material. His repast concluded, the king again washed his hands in water brought to him as before, and then, after inhaling from a gilt and painted pipe the smoke of a mixture of liquid amber and tobacco, he took his siesta.

The after-dinner hours Montezuma devoted to affairs of state, giving audience to foreign ambassadors, to deputations from various portions of his empire, and to such of his lords and nobles as had business to transact with him. Before entering the presence-chamber, all except those of royal blood were required to leave their sandals at the door, to cover their rich dresses with a large coarse mantle, and to approach the monarch barefooted and with downcast eyes, for the subject who should dare to look the sovereign in the face was surely put to death. The king usually made answer through his secretaries, or, when he deigned to reply directly, spoke in a tone of voice almost inaudible. Nevertheless he listened attentively to all that was said to him, and encouraged those who, from diffidence or embarrassment, found difficulty in speaking, each one, when dismissed, retiring with his face toward the royal throne.

The business of the day thus concluded, the monarch again gave himself up to pleasure, passing his time in familiar badinage with his jesters, in listening to ballad-singers, who sang of war and the glorious deeds of his ancestors, or in watching the feats of strength and sleight of hand of his acrobats and jugglers. Thrice each day he changed his dress, and a garment once worn was never used again.

The Aztec monarchs seldom appeared in state among their people, though we are told that they would sometimes go forth in disguise to see that none of the religious ceremonies were omitted, to ascertain whether the laws were observed, and probably to learn the true state of public opinion with regard to themselves. When they did appear, however, the parade was in keeping with their other observances. On these occasions the king was seated in a magnificent litter, covered with a canopy of feather-work, adorned with gold and precious stones, and borne on the shoulders of four noblemen. He was attended by a vast multitude of courtiers, who walked in silence and with downcast eyes, the procession being headed by an official carrying three wands, whose duty it was to give warning of his approach.

In addition to the host of retainers already mentioned, there were innumerable servants and officials attached to the royal household, such as butlers, stewards, and cooks, treasurers, secretaries, scribes, military officers, superintendents of the royal granaries and arsenals, and those employed under them. Numbers of artisans were constantly engaged in repairing old buildings and erecting new ones, and a small army of jewellers and workers in precious metals was maintained permanently at the palace, for the purpose of supplying the king and court with their costly ornaments. The enormous expense of supporting the monarch's household was defrayed by the people, who, as will presently appear, were sorely oppressed by over-taxation. The entire management was intrusted to a head steward, who, with the help of his secretaries, kept minute hieroglyphic records of the royal revenue, and it is said that, at the time of the conquest, one of the palace apartments was filled with these records.

Thus did the Aztec sovereigns live, their policy toward their subjects being to secure obedience by exciting awe and dread, rather than by inspiring love and reverence. To this end they kept the people at a distance, by surrounding themselves with an impassable barrier of pomp and courtly etiquette, and enforced submission by enacting laws that made death the penalty of the most trivial offenses. There was little in common between the monarchs and their people, as is ever the case between a despot and his vassals. The good that they wrought by their liberality and love of justice, and the victories which they achieved by their courage and generalship, doubtless won the approbation of the masses. On the other hand, their pride and arrogance, the heavy burdens of taxation which they imposed, and their excessive severity in inflicting punishments engendered debasing fears. If, as the chroniclers relate, the Aztecs were trained to look upon their king as a father, they must have regarded him as a stern father indeed.

CHAPTER VI.

NOBLES AND SLAVES.

THE Mexican nobility, in common with that of other Nahua nations, was divided into several classes, each having its own privileges and badges of rank. The titles, however, and the distinctions that existed between the various grades, are not in every instance clearly defined. The one named Tlatoani, signifying an absolute and sovereign power, was the most respected, and to this order belonged the kings, and the great feudatory lords, the latter being governors of provinces, and of princely descent. This title was always hereditary, but many of the others were conferred only for life, as a reward for military or other services.

According to some accounts, there were, in the realms of Montezuma, thirty great lords, each of whom controlled a hundred thousand vassals, and three thousand other lords, who were also very powerful. If all these nobles, possessed as they were of so much influence, had been permitted to live on their estates, they would have been a constant source of peril to the crown. To guard against this danger, the principal lords were required to reside at the capital during the greater part of the year, and permission to return to their homes, even for a brief visit, could only be obtained on condition that a son or brother remained at court as a guaranty of good faith.

Army officers of high rank were included among the privileged classes; usually, indeed, they were of noble birth, and during the reign of Montezuma II. this was always the case. There were several military orders and titles which were bestowed as a reward for gallantry, one of them—the knightly order of the Tecuhtli—being restricted to the nobility. To obtain this rank, it was necessary, besides being of noble birth,

to have given proof of the highest courage, and to have sufficient wealth to defray the enormous expenses attached to it.

For three years before he was admitted, the candidate and his parents busied themselves in making ready for the ceremony, and in collecting rich garments, jewels, and golden ornaments, as presents for the guests. When the time approached, the omens were consulted, and an auspicious day being selected, his relatives and friends, and a number of great nobles and tecuhtlis were invited to a sumptuous banquet. On the morning of this all-important day, the company set forth in a body for the temple of Camaxtli, the Tlascaltec god of war, followed by a multitude of curious spectators, mainly of the lower orders. Arriving at the summit of the pyramid consecrated to the war-god, the aspirant to knightly honors bowed down reverently before his altar. The high-priest then approached him, and with a tiger's bone or an eagle's claw, perforated the cartilage of his nose in two places, inserting pieces of jet or obsidian, which remained until the year of his probation was passed, and were then replaced with golden beads and precious stones. This operation signified that he who aspired to the dignity of a tecuhtli must be swift to overtake an enemy as the eagle, and fierce in battle as the tiger.

Speaking in a loud voice, the high-priest now begins to heap insults upon the candidate, who makes no answer, but stands meekly before him. His voice grows louder and louder; he brandishes his arms aloft, and works himself into a fury. The assistant priests gather close around the object of the pontiff's wrath; they jostle him; they point their fingers sneeringly at him, and call him coward. For a moment the dark eyes of the victim gleam savagely; his hands close involuntarily; he is about to spring upon his tormentors; but with an effort he calms himself, and remains passive as ever. That look makes the priests draw back, but only for an instant; they are upon him again, for they know that he is strong to endure, and they will prove him to the uttermost. Screaming

vile epithets in his ears, they tear the garments piece by piece from his body, until nothing but the maxtli is left, and the man stands bruised and almost naked in their midst. All is useless, however; their victim is immovable, and at length he is left in peace.

The candidate has now passed safely through his most trying ordeal, but that fierce look was a narrow escape. Had he lifted only a finger in resistance, he must have gone down from the temple, to be scorned and jeered at by the crowd below as one who had aspired to the dignity of a tecuhtli, and yet could restrain his temper no better than a woman. All the long months of preparation would have been in vain; his parents would have wept for vexation and shame, and perchance he would even have been punished for sacrilege.

But he is by no means yet a member of the coveted order. He is now conducted to a hall in the temple, where he commences his novitiate, or period of probation, with four days of penance, prayer, and fasting. During this time his powers of endurance are sorely taxed. The only furniture allowed him are a mat and a low stool, and his garments are of the coarsest description. At nightfall a priest brings to him a black ointment wherewith to besmear his face, a few spines of the maguey plant with which to draw blood from his body, a censer, and some incense. His sole companions are three veteran warriors, who instruct him in his duties and keep him awake, for during the four days he must only sleep a few minutes at a time. If, overcome with drowsiness, he should exceed the limit, his guardians thrust the maguey thorns into his flesh, crying: "Awake, awake! Learn to be vigilant and watchful; keep your eyes open, that you may look to the interests of your vassals."

At midnight the candidate burns incense before the war-god, and draws blood from various parts of his body. He then walks round the temple, and on his way burns paper and copal at the four sides of the building facing the cardinal points, letting fall upon each offering a few drops of his own

blood. Once only in twenty-four hours he breaks his fast, and then the food, which is taken at midnight, consists only of four small dumplings of maize meal, each about the size of a walnut, and a little water. Even this he leaves untasted, if he wishes to display extraordinary powers of endurance. The four days elapsed, he obtains permission from the high-priest to complete his time of probation at some temple in his own city or district.

For two or three months before his formal admission into the order, the relatives of the candidate make ready for the coming ceremony. A grand display is made of the rich attire and costly jewels prepared for him; presents, without stint, are provided for the guests; a second banquet is made ready, and the entire house is decorated for the occasion. On the day appointed, the company assemble as before, and with music and dancing, the knight is borne toward the shrine of Camaxtli. Accompanied by his brother tecuhtlis, he ascends the steps of the temple, and respectfully salutes the idol. The coarse garments are then removed, and his hair is bound in a knot with a red cord, to the ends of which are appended some feathers of brilliant plumage. He is now arrayed in a garb of rich material, including a tunic, adorned with a delicately embroidered device,—the badge of his newly acquired rank. In his right hand are placed some arrows, and in his left a bow.

The ceremony is completed by the high-priest, who instructs him in his duties; tells him the names which he is to add to his own as a member of the order; describes to him the signs and devices which he must emblazon on his escutcheon; and exhorts him to be liberal and just, to love his country and his gods. The knight then descends into the court of the temple, and music and dancing are resumed until it is time for the banquet to commence. To the guests, at least, this was the most interesting feature of the day; for in front of each one were placed the presents intended for him, consisting of costly wares and ornaments, in such profusion that two

slaves could with difficulty carry a single portion. On the following day the servants and followers of the guests were feasted and presented with gifts, according to the means and liberality of the donor.

The privileges of the tecuhtlis were important and numerous. In council their votes outweighed all others, and at feasts and ceremonies, in peace or in war, they always received the preference. The vast outlay needed to obtain this title debarred many who were really worthy of the distinction. In some instances, however, when a noble had won renown in war, but had not the means to pay for his initiation, the expenses were borne by the order, or by the governor of his province.

The priesthood filled a very important place among the privileged classes, its members exercising a powerful influence both in public and private affairs. To be fitted for an ecclesiastical career, the ministers of the various temples must be graduates of the colleges in which they had been trained from infancy, and though the dignities of their order were conferred by vote, those of noble birth obtained almost invariably the highest honors.

It was the duty of the priests to attend to all matters pertaining to religion and education. Some took charge of the sacrifices, and some were skilled in the art of divination, or foretelling future events. Certain of them were intrusted with the arrangement of the festivals, and the care of the temples and sacred vessels; others busied themselves with the composition of hymns and attended to the singing and music. Those who were learned in science superintended the schools and colleges, regulated the calendar, and appointed the feast-days; those who possessed literary talent compiled the historical works and collected material for the libraries.

In the earlier years of the Aztec dynasty the lower orders of free citizens appear to have been an important factor in the body politic. They were represented in the royal council; many held office at court, and the wishes of all were consulted

in the affairs of moment. Gradually, however, their privileges were curtailed, until, in the reign of Montezuma II., they were deprived of all positions that were not absolutely menial, and driven from the palace.

Slavery was recognized by law and usage throughout the entire country inhabited by the Nahua nations. There were in ancient Mexico three classes of slaves,—prisoners of war, criminals, and those who sold themselves or their children into slavery. He who captured a prisoner of war had an undisputed right to present him as a sacrifice to the gods, and of this right he seldom failed to take advantage. Slaves were offered for sale in the public market-place of every town, but the principal slave-mart in the Mexican empire seems to have been in the town of Azcapuzalco, distant some three leagues from the capital.

Parents could sell a son into slavery, but were allowed to release him on surrendering another son to serve in his stead. When a family became entirely destitute, a child was sold to some noble, and if he died or was disabled, his place must be filled by a member of the same family. About the year 1505, however, this being a season of famine, the king of Tezcuco, foreseeing the evils that this system would entail if the scarcity of food continued, declared all families exempt from such obligations, and it is recorded that Montezuma II. soon afterward followed his example.

In Mexico slavery consisted merely of an obligation to render personal service, and bondmen were permitted greater privileges than was the case in the Old World. They were allowed a certain amount of time in which to labor for their own advantage; they could acquire and hold property, including other slaves to serve them; they could marry, and their children were invariably free. Those who had served long and faithfully were often intrusted with the care of their owner's household and property; and on the other hand, if, through misfortune, the master should become poor, his bondmen cheerfully labored for his support.

The average price of a slave was twenty mantles, or the equivalent of one load of cotton cloth; some were worth less, while others brought as many as forty mantles. Except on account of bad conduct, none could be sold without their own consent, unless their master could prove that poverty or debt made the sale unavoidable; nor could such faults as laziness, disobedience, or even attempt to escape be punished without due warning. If the slave continued refractory, a wooden collar was placed round his neck, and his owner was allowed to transfer him against his will. The purchaser of a slave wearing the collar invariably inquired how many times he had been so disposed of before; and if, after being transferred two or three times, he remained incorrigible, then he might be sold for the sacrifice.

TERRA-COTTA IMAGE — ZACHILA, OAJACA.

CHAPTER VII.

LAND TENURE, TAXATION, AND LAWS.

Lands were divided between the crown and the nobles, the various tribes or clans of the people, and the temples, the greater portion being appropriated by the king and the aristocracy. All landed property was surveyed, and all estates were traced out on maps or paintings, which were kept on file by an officer appointed for each district. The crown lands were painted in purple, those of the nobility in scarlet, and those of the calpullis, or wards, in light yellow. Certain portions of the crown property, called 'lands of the palace,' were granted to nobles of the rank of tecuhtli, who were called people of the palace,' and had the free use and enjoyment of such lands, certain services being required in return.

The eldest son usually inherited his father's estate, but if he was judged incapable of taking care of it, the property might be bequeathed to his brother, the heir being required to insure a competency to him whom he had supplanted. In Tlascala daughters could not inherit an estate, the object being to prevent landed property from passing by marriage into the hands of strangers.

The wards were of greater or less extent, according to the partition which had been made by the first settlers in Anáhuac. The owners were all members of the same clan or tribe, and their lands were the common property of the community, the members of which held or leased their portion only so long as it was cultivated and improved, and had no right to dispose of it.

Every temple, whether great or insignificant, had its own lands and country estates, the produce of which was applied to the support of the priests and of public worship, the tenants being regarded as vassals. The high-priests, who on temple

lands exercised a power similar to that of the royal governors, frequently visited these estates for the purpose of inspecting their condition and administering justice to those who occupied them.

The people of Anáhuac and of the surrounding countries paid tribute to the crown and to the temples, either with personal service or with labor and its products. In the kingdom of Tezcuco, twenty-nine cities provided everything that was needed for the monarch's household, and were otherwise exempt from taxation, fourteen of these cities making provision during one half of the year, and fifteen during the remainder. They also furnished laborers and artisans, as water-carriers, gardeners, and tillers of the soil. Manufacturers paid their taxes with the fabrics produced by their industry, and merchants with the articles in which they traded. Taxes paid in fruit and grain were collected immediately after harvest; other tributes at various seasons of the year, and in each town there was a magazine for storing the revenues, from which supplies were drawn as required. In the Mexican empire there were in all about 370 tributary towns, some of which paid their taxes every fourth day and some every twentieth day, while others contributed only once in six months or once in a year.

In addition to the taxes levied upon individuals, each town contributed a large number of cotton garments, a certain quantity of breadstuffs and feathers, and such other articles as were produced in the province in which it was situated. Mazatlan, for instance, and other towns on the Pacific coast paid, besides the cotton garments, 4,000 bundles of choice feathers, 200 sacks of cacao, 40 tiger skins, and 160 birds of a certain species. Michapan and other places on the Mexican gulf contributed, besides cotton garments, cacao, and gold, 24,000 bundles of feathers of various qualities and colors, six necklaces, two of which were of the finest emerald, twenty ear-rings of amber set in gold, 100 jars of liquid amber, and 16,000 loads of india-rubber. As the Saxon king imposed a

tax of wolves' heads upon his subjects for the purpose of ridding his kingdom of these ravenous animals, so did the Mexican monarchs require from those who were too poor to pay the regular taxes a certain quantity of the carcasses of snakes, scorpions, centipedes, and other obnoxious creatures.

The rate of taxation varied from thirty to thirty-three per cent of all that was produced; but during the reign of Montezuma II. it was increased so enormously that his people were sorely oppressed. The bulk of the immense wealth which fell into the hands of the conquerors was the result of this excessive taxation, and the main cause of the alienation of the people from their sovereign, whereby alone the conquest became a possible achievement. A large portion of the tribute was expended in supporting the army, public employés, the poor and destitute, and in providing food for the people in times of famine; but almost as large a portion was appropriated by the king for his own use. Thus he undid the work of his fathers, caring only for his own glory.

In the capital and in each of the principal cities of the empire there was a supreme judge, who was considered second only to the king in rank and authority, and by whom the inferior judges were appointed. He held office for life, and in addition to his judicial and other duties, had charge of the royal revenues. A lower court, presided over by three judges, was supreme in civil matters, and in each ward of the city was a magistrate elected by the inhabitants, whose duties were similar to those of a justice of the peace. Besides the various tribunals for the administration of justice, there were others of a special nature, as military courts, exchequer courts, and courts of divorce.

At sunrise, or as some say at daybreak, the judges took their places, seated on mats, and usually on an elevated platform. Here they administered justice until noon, when they partook of a meal supplied from the royal kitchen. When this was finished, business was resumed after a brief interval of rest, and continued during the greater part of the afternoon.

Every day in the year the courts were in session, except during solemn festivities or public sacrifices, and punctuality on the part of the judges was rigidly enforced, he who absented himself without good cause being severely punished.

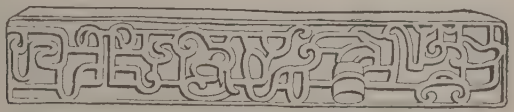
The Aztecs had various methods for punishing crime, though offenders were seldom punished by imprisonment. That they had prisons, and very cruel ones, there is no doubt; but they appear to have been used mainly for the safe-keeping of prisoners before trial, or between trial and execution. The cells were made like cages, and jails were so constructed as to admit but little light or air. The food and ventilation were so poor and scanty that the prisoners soon became lean and yellow, and began to suffer, while in durance, the death to which most of them were condemned.

Like most semi-barbarous nations, the Aztecs were more apt to punish crime than to reward virtue. The greater part of their code might, like Draco's, have been written in blood,—so severe were the punishments inflicted for crimes that were comparatively slight, and so brutal and bloody the modes of carrying those penalties into execution.

Theft was visited with various degrees of punishment, though not depending on the magnitude of the crime. Thus he who stole a certain number of ears of corn was put to death, while he who stole from a temple was enslaved for the first offence and hanged for the second. For thefts of large amount death was the almost invariable penalty, the criminal being usually hanged, after being dragged through the streets, though some were stoned to death. He who committed highway robbery was executed by beating in his skull with a club; he who was caught in the act of pilfering in the market-place was beaten with sticks by the assembled multitude until he died. The latter was considered a most heinous offence; but nevertheless is said to have been so common that if a market-woman merely turned away her head her stall would be robbed in an instant.

The murderer suffered death, even though he should be a

noble and his victim only a slave. Traitors, conspirators, and those who stirred up sedition among the people were broken to pieces at the joints; their houses were razed to the ground, their property confiscated, and their children and nearest relatives enslaved, to the fourth generation. In Tezcuco, he who kidnapped and sold into slavery a child was hanged; in Mexico, a criminal of this class was himself sold into slavery, and of the proceeds of the sale one half was given to the stolen child.



SCULPTURED GRANITE BLOCK — MAPILCA, VERA CRUZ.

CHAPTER VIII.

INDUSTRIES AND COMMERCE.

THROUGHOUT the long years during which the Aztecs lived on the islands in the lake of Mexico, or Tezcuco, they had little space for raising crops of any description. During this period the fish, birds, insects, plants, and even the mud of the lake were used for food, until floating gardens were invented, and their conquests on the mainland gave them broader fields for tillage.

The idea of constructing floating gardens was suggested by observing that portions of earth, detached from the shore and held together by fibrous roots, floated on the surface of the lake. Building rafts of light wood, about a hundred feet in length, they covered them with rushes, reeds, and sticks, and on this foundation laid two or three feet of black mud taken from the bottom of the lake. When hardened by the sun, the rich soil thus obtained was sufficient to raise most of the agricultural products of the country, especially maize, chile, and beans, while even fruit and shade trees grew to a considerable size. Soon the broad surface around their island homes was dotted with fertile gardens, self-irrigating, independent of the rains, and easily moved from place to place at the will of the proprietor. The floating gardens remained in use until modern times; but after the waters of the lake receded from their former limits, they were usually made fast to the shore, though separated by a narrow space, across which their produce was conveyed in canoes.

When the Nahuas had gained a foothold on the mainland, few fertile spots throughout their territory remained uncultivated; for agriculture was deemed an honorable pursuit, and all except the kings and nobles were more or less engaged in it. Each province, however, raised only enough for its own

consumption, and when by reason of drought a famine occurred, there was great difficulty in obtaining food from abroad.

The chief agricultural products among the Nahuas, apart from maize, beans, and chile, the first of which formed the staple food of the Aztecs, were the maguey, a species of aloe from which was prepared a spirituous liquor called pulque, cacao, and various native fruits. There were no animals that could be trained to farm-work, as oxen, mules, or horses, and the tools in use were few and rudely fashioned. The latter consisted only, so far as is known, of an oaken spade or shovel, and two copper implements, one of them used for breaking the soil, and the other for pruning fruit-trees. In planting corn, the farmer dropped a few kernels into the holes made with a sharp stick, the point of which had been hardened in the fire, and scattered over them with his foot a covering of earth, taking care to make the rows straight and parallel. The fields were carefully weeded, and during the growth and ripening of the maize a watchman was kept constantly on guard, whose duty it was to drive away the flocks of feathered robbers which abounded throughout the country.

Game was abundant in many parts of Mexico, the principal descriptions being the deer, hare, rabbit, wild hog, wolf, fox, jaguar, Mexican lion, coyote, pigeon, partridge, quail, and aquatic fowl. The usual weapons used in hunting were the bow and arrow, to the invention of which tradition ascribes the origin of the chase; but spears, snares, and nets were also employed, and a tube through which pellets or darts were blown was used for killing birds. Young monkeys were caught by placing in a concealed fire a black stick which exploded under the action of heat, first scattering around a little corn as a bait. When the explosion took place, the parent monkey took fright and scampered away, leaving its offspring to be captured. Crocodiles were taken by throwing a noose around the neck, and also by inserting a stick, sharpened and barbed at both ends, in the creature's open mouth. The latter

was a daring feat, and was only attempted by the boldest hunters.

While it is probable that a small portion of the inhabitants in certain parts of the country followed the chase for a livelihood, hunting was, for the most part, a diversion of the nobles and soldiery. Once in each year a day was set apart by the Aztec warriors for this purpose, in honor of Mixcoatl, the god of the chase. The favorite resort was the forest of Zacatepec, near Mexico, which on these occasion was surrounded by a line of sportsmen, many miles in extent, the centre being set with traps and nets. To aid in the work, the grass was sometimes fired, and when all was in readiness, the living circle gradually contracted, all pressing forward toward the interior of the forest. The animals were driven from their retreats into the snares prepared for them, or were shot down with arrows, and the game thus secured was borne to the capital and the neighboring towns as an offering to the gods. Each hunter carried to his home the heads of the beasts which he had killed, and to the most successful a prize of considerable value was awarded.

The Nahuas had neither flocks nor herds, though the nobles kept in their parks deer, hares, and rabbits, and the lower classes raised turkeys, quail, geese, ducks, and other varieties of birds. Fish was more in demand for food than game; but as to the mode of catching them, except that both nets and hooks were used, there are no records. Besides the supply in lake and river, the artificial ponds in the royal gardens were stocked with fish, and the waters in the territory of the Tarascos, west of Anáhuac, were so abundantly supplied that their country was named Michoacan, or the land of fish. Gold, silver, copper, tin, and lead were the principal metals of the Aztecs. Iron, although abundant throughout their territory, was unknown. Obsidian, several kinds of rock, as flint, porphyry, and basalt, and copper with an alloy of tin, were fashioned for cutting implements. Quicksilver, sulphur, alum, ochre and other minerals were used for various purposes.

The gold and silver work of the Nahuas excited the wonder of their conquerors, and natural objects, as animals, birds, and fishes, were imitated with remarkable skill. In the collection of Montezuma II., as Cortés would have us believe, were counterfeits in gold, silver, gems, or feathers of every object in his domain, so skilfully wrought that they were not excelled by European craftsmen. Knives, lancets, razors, spear-points, and arrow-heads were made of obsidian; and it is said that in the barbers' shops of the capital ten or fifteen razors were used for shaving the beard of each individual.

All the precious stones found in Mexico were used for ornamental purposes, and especially emeralds, amethysts, and turquoises. Pearls and bright-colored stones, mingled with gems, were also in use for bracelets, ear-rings, and necklaces. Mirrors of crystal and obsidian, brightly polished and set in costly frames, reflected the human face as clearly as those of European manufacture. Cloth was made of cotton, rabbits' hair, or a mixture of these materials. Carpets, tapestry, and bed-coverings were also of cotton and feather-work. For *nequen*, a description of coarse cloth, and also for cords, ropes, and mats, palm leaves and maguey fibre were used. Paper was made of the same substances, and the skins of animals were utilized as parchment for hieroglyphic inscriptions. Dyes and paints, mineral, animal, and vegetable, were so skilfully prepared that they excelled those which were used in Europe, and after the conquest, many of them were introduced into Spain by the conquerors of Anáhuac.

Mexican paintings showed little artistic merit, except in their coloring, and apart from hieroglyphic records, few specimens have been preserved. On the arrival of Cortés, Aztec painters described everything new and strange that was introduced by the conquerors, as their armor, their horses, their cannon, and sent them depictured on canvas to Montezuma.

Among the Nahuas, as elsewhere amidst the native races of America, speech-making was a favorite pastime. Many and long were the addresses offered to kings and officials when

they assumed office, and all diplomatic correspondence was in the hands of professional writers. Poets, if somewhat less numerous, were held in no less esteem than orators, among their themes being the heroic deeds of warlike ancestors, national annals and traditions, the praise of the gods, moral lessons drawn from actual events, and illustrations of the beauties of nature. Aztec poems, translated into several European languages, have been preserved by various authors, and the following stanza, translated almost literally from the song of Nezahualcoyotl, king of Tezcuco, the subject being the mutability of life, will serve to show that there were among the Nahuas poets of no mean order: —

> "I would that those living in friendship,
> Whom the thread of strong love doth encircle,
> Could see the sharp sword of the death-god;
> For verily, pleasure is fleeting.
> All sweetness must change in the future;
> The good things of life are inconstant."

Among the Nahuas, shops or stores, in the modern sense of the word, were unknown, though in the plazas of every town there were markets where articles needed for immediate use could always be purchased. Fairs were held at which the products of manufacture, agriculture, and art were displayed to consumers and merchants, and at the great commercial centres, as Mexico and Tlatelulco, home productions were exchanged for foreign merchandise, or sold for export.

Every fifth day was set apart as a special market-day, and the fairs held on these occasions were crowded, not only by local customers, but by sellers and buyers from all the country surrounding, and from foreign lands. It is related that the two market-places in the city of Mexico would contain 200,000 persons, and that every fifth day 100,000 were actually present; while, if we can believe Cortés, 60,000 assembled daily in the Tlatelulco market, and 30,000 in the market-place of Tlascala. Nor is there any good reason to suppose that these figures are greatly exaggerated.

At each fair all kinds of food, whether animal or vegetable, cooked or uncooked, were offered for sale in the most attractive form. There were to be found, also, native cloths and fabrics in the piece, and made up into coarse or fine garments to suit the means of the purchaser; there were precious stones, and ornaments of metal, feathers, or shells; implements and weapons of metal, stone, and wood; building materials, as lime, stone, wood, and brick; articles of household furniture, among which was matting of various degrees of fineness; medicinal herbs and prepared medicines; incense and censers; dye-woods and cochineal; and an infinite variety of pottery. But to enumerate all the articles displayed in the market-places is a task which need not be attempted.

The Nahuas bought and sold commodities by count and measure, but not by weight, except perhaps in the case of the

ABORIGINAL COIN FROM MONTE ALBAN, OAJACA.

precious metals. Such, at least, is the received opinion of the best authorities. Traffic was usually carried on by barter, one article of merchandise being exchanged for another, but regular purchase and sale were by no means uncommon. Though coined money was not in use,—copper cut into small portions resembling the letter T, and in some of the provinces pieces of tin, being the nearest approach to it,—several convenient substitutes furnished a medium of exchange. Chief among them were grains of the cacao, of a species somewhat different from the one used in making chocolate. This currency was accepted throughout Anáhuac, and the grains were paid out by count up to the number of 8,000, which consti-

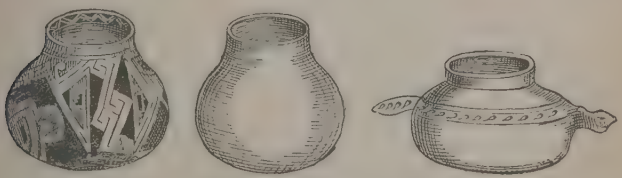
tuted a xiquipilli; but in large transactions, sacks containing three xiquipilli were used, to save the labor of counting. Gold-dust inserted in translucent quills, in order that the quantity might be readily seen, was also used as a circulating medium, and it is said that the golden quoits with which Montezuma II. paid his losses at gambling also passed current as money.

Itinerant traders, or men who traversed the country from town to town in caravans, ostensibly for purposes of traffic, were ordered to draw maps of the region through which lay their line of route, and to observe carefully their resources and condition for defence. Provinces which were represented as being wealthy were then provoked to some act which served as a pretext for laying waste their lands, or for making their inhabitants tributary to the kings of Anáhuac. Thus these travelling companies of hucksters were little better than bands of licensed robbers, the confederate kings being ever ready to extend by war the field of their commerce, and to avenge, by the hands of their warriors, any real or imaginary insult offered to their subjects.

Expeditions to distant provinces were usually undertaken by companies from Tlatelulco, which, at the opening of the sixteenth century, was the chief mart of Anáhuac, her merchants being held in great esteem, and enjoying about the same privileges as did the nobles. For protection, large numbers travelled in each caravan, choosing one of the company as leader. On the eve of departure they gave a banquet to those of their calling who, by reason of age, were unfitted to travel, made known to them their plans, and spoke of the places which they intended to visit. The veteran traders applauded their enterprise, encouraged the young and inexperienced, reminded them of the fame and wealth acquired by their ancestors, and exhorted them to follow their example.

On the route, carriers marched in single file, and at every camping-place the strictest watch was kept, for freebooters infested the more dangerous passes, and lay in wait for richly laden caravans. The rulers of friendly provinces, mindful of

the benefits which might result from such expeditions, constructed roads and kept them in repair; furnished bridges or boats for crossing the rivers, and at certain points, remote from settlement, built houses for the accommodation of these adventurers. On the return journey the same precautions were taken, and when nearing the capital, it is stated that the traders, putting on the guise of poverty, clad themselves in rags, and declared that their venture had been unsuccessful. For this proceeding, and for the fact that their goods were stealthily conveyed into the city by night, the motive is not very apparent. Merchandise could be sold only in the public markets, and after payment of the royal dues; but we may presume that there were methods of evading such payment, and that a fair consideration, offered to the monarch and the monarch's officials, assuaged somewhat the bitterness of their wrath.



Pottery from Casas Grandes.

CHAPTER IX.

FOOD, FEASTS, AMUSEMENTS, AND DRESS.

In preparing and cooking their food, the Aztecs displayed their usual ingenuity, though many of their dishes were of a very simple character. Maize, or Indian corn, when in the milk, was eaten boiled; when dry, it was parched or roasted, though it usually came to table in the shape of tortillas, then, as now, the staple food of all Spanish America. What *poi* is to the Hawaiian, what rice is to the Hindoo, and what bread is to most civilized nations, the tortilla was and is to the inhabitants of Mexico.

In making tortillas, the Nahuas boiled their maize in water, to which lime, or sometimes nitre, was added. When thus softened, it was crushed with a stone roller, and the dough, after being kneaded, was shaped into thin round cakes, which were baked in earthen pans, and piled one on another, so as to retain their warmth, for when cold they lost their savor. Several kinds of bread were prepared from maize, some of them, as the *tlaxcalli*, being in the form of larger and thicker cakes, and some in the shape of balls, as rice is now often served with curry or other seasoned dishes. *Atolli*, a preparation of maize varying in consistence from gruel to mush, and used both as liquid or solid food, was made of corn, stripped of the husk, mashed, mixed with water, boiled down as required, and sweetened or seasoned according to taste, with honey, chile, or saltpetre.

Beans, the *etl* of the Aztecs, and the principal ingredient in the frijoles of the Spaniards, were boiled, when green, in the pod, and when dry were also boiled. Chilli, chile, or pepper was eaten raw, whether green or dry, and a sauce made from it formed a part of the seasoning of almost every Nahua dish.

esh, fish, and fowl, fresh or salted, were roasted, stewed, and

boiled with dog-fat, and seasoned with chile and *tomatl*, or tomatoes. Fruits were, for the most part, eaten raw; but some, as the plantain and banana, were roasted or stewed.

Among miscellaneous articles of food may be mentioned the ant, maguey-worm, and the fly of the Mexican lake, which were dried, ground, boiled, and eaten in the form of cakes. There were also eggs of turkeys, iguanas, and turtles, roasted, boiled, and in omelettes; reptiles of various kinds; shrimps, sardines, and crabs; wild amaranth seeds and tule roots; honey of bees, of maize, and of the maguey, and portions of maguey stalks and leaves, which were eaten roasted. All articles of food, whether cooked or uncooked, were offered for sale in the market-places of the larger towns, and near them were eating-houses, where the delicacies and substantial fare of the Nahua cuisine were served up to their patrons.

The Nahuas appear to have restricted their indulgence in rich and highly seasoned dishes to festive occasions, and at their homes to have contented themselves with the plainest fare. The poorer classes had in their houses no cooking utensils, except a hollowed stone, called *metate*, for grinding maize, and a few earthen dishes for cooking tortillas and frijoles. They ate thrice a day, at morning, noon, and nightfall, using the ground for table, table-cloth, napkin, and chair, conveying their food to the mouth with their fingers, and drinking only water or atole. The repasts of the rich, however, were served on palm-mats, often richly decorated, and napkins and low seats were provided for their use.

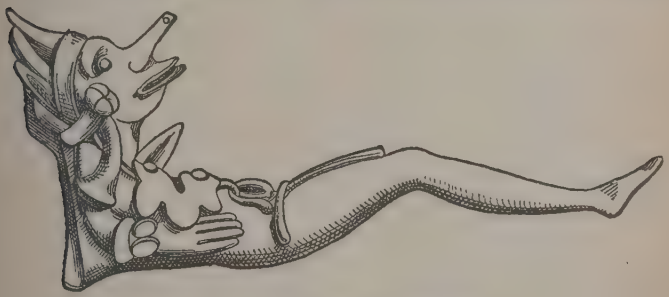
The fondness of the Aztecs for feasts and amusements appears to have extended through all ranks of society. Every man feasted his neighbor, and was himself feasted in turn. From the king to the peasant, each one endeavored to excel his equals in the splendor of his banquets, and as these involved the distribution of costly presents among the guests, it often happened that the host ruined himself by his hospitality. It is even said that many sold themselves into slavery, in order to procure the means for a single feast, whereby their memory would be immortalized.

The grandeur of the feast depended, of course, on the wealth of the host, the rank of the guests, and the importance of the occasion. Those who were invited received, on their arrival, a bouquet of flowers as a token of welcome, and persons of a rank superior to the host were saluted, after the Aztec fashion, by touching the hand to the earth, and then carrying it to the lips. On some occasions, garlands were placed upon the heads of the guests, and strings of roses around their necks, while copal was burned before those whom the host desired specially to honor. While waiting for the meal, they employed their time in strolling through the grounds, and admiring their beautiful shrubbery, green grass-plats, well-kept flower-beds, and sparkling fountains.

When dinner was announced, all took their seats, according to age and rank, on mats or stools, placed close against the walls. Servants then entered with water and towels, with which each guest cleansed his hands and mouth. Pipes, or rather smoking-canes, were then presented in order, as was supposed, to stimulate the appetite. The viands, kept warm by chafing-dishes, were then brought in on artistically worked plates of gold, silver, tortoise-shell, or earthenware, and each person, before beginning to eat, threw a small piece of food into a lighted brazier, as an offering to the god of fire. Many highly seasoned dishes of meat and fish were partaken of, and when the tables were cleared, the servants, in company with the attendants of the guests, feasted on the remains of the banquet. Chocolate was then handed round, together with water for washing the hands and rinsing the mouth. The smoking-canes were again introduced, and while the guests reclined upon their mats, the music suddenly struck up, and the young people, or perhaps some professionals, executed a dance, singing at the same time an ode prepared for the occasion. Professional jesters amused the audience with their jokes, sometimes appearing disguised as foreigners, whose dialect and peculiarities they imitated, and at other times mimicking old women, or well-known and eccentric individuals.

The banquet usually lasted till midnight, and when the party broke up each guest received at parting presents of dresses, gourds, cacao-beans, flowers, or articles of food.

At the royal feasts, given when noblemen came to the capital to render homage to the sovereign, the people flocked in from the provinces in great numbers to witness the spectacles, which consisted of theatrical representations, combats



TERRA-COTTA MUSICAL INSTRUMENT.

between gladiators, fights between wild beasts, athletic sports, musical performances, and poetical recitations in honor of gods, kings, and heroes. The nobles partook daily of banquets at the palace, and were presented by the monarch with costly gifts.

Dancing was a favorite amusement among the Aztecs, and the preparations for the great public dances, at which the performers were numbered by the thousand, were on an immense scale. The choirs and bands belonging to the various temples were placed in charge of a leader, who composed the ode of the day, set it to music, instructed the musicians, saw that all did their duty, and caused every fault or negligence to be severely punished. One of the principal dances, called the *netetelitli*, took place either in the plaza or in the court-yard of the temple, in the centre of which mats were spread for the musicians. The nobles and aged men drew up in a circle around the

drums; those of inferior rank formed the second circle, and the third ring was composed of young people. Two leading dancers directed the movements, and their steps were imitated by all the rest.

At a given signal, the drums were beaten lightly to a well-known tune, started by the leaders and taken up by the entire company, all of them at the same time beginning to move their feet, arms, heads, and bodies in perfect accord. Each verse or couplet was repeated three or four times, the dancers keeping time with rattles. The inner circle proceeded at a slow, dignified pace, befitting the age and rank of those who composed it; the second moved somewhat faster; while those in the outer circle approached a run as the dance became livelier, each one keeping his position in the circle, and each circuit being completed at the same time. The motions were varied; at one time the dancers holding each other by the hand, at another by the waist, now taking their left-hand neighbor for partner, and now the right. After the first song, which referred to the event of the day, a popular ode, treating of the gods, kings, and heroes, was sung in a higher scale and to a livelier measure. This was the case with all the succeeding songs, each one becoming higher and shriller as it proceeded, and flutes, trumpets, and whistles being sometimes used to increase the effect. When one set of dancers became tired, another took its place, and so the dance was continued throughout the entire day, each song lasting about an hour. Meanwhile jesters and clowns, in various disguises, passed to and fro between the lines, uttering jokes, cutting capers, and serving refreshments.

All appeared at the dances as richly attired as their means would permit. Noted warriors appeared magnificently dressed, and sometimes wore shields adorned with feathers. Nobles were in court dress, the outer garment being a rich mantle knotted at the shoulder. In their hair were tassels of feathers and gold, in their lips were ornaments of gold and precious stones, and in their ears were golden rings; while round their

wrists were bracelets of the same metal, and strings of turquoises, and some had gold bells attached to their ankles. The gayly colored garments of the lower classes were decorated with feathers and embroidery; garlands encircled the head; about the neck were strings of shells and beans, and on the arms and necks were bracelets. The women were attired in gayly colored dresses, fancifully embroidered, and adorned with fringes.

The dramatic performances of the Aztecs were inferior, as spectacles, to the choral dances, and usually took the character of a burlesque, the performers wearing masks of wood, or being disguised as animals. No special building was erected for this purpose, and the lower porch of a temple frequently served for a stage, though in some of the large towns a permanent stage was built in the plaza. At Cholula plays were performed on the porch of the temple of Quetzalcoatl, which, for the occasion, was whitewashed and adorned with arches of feathers, flowers, and branches. Here, on gala-days, the people assembled after dinner to witness the entertainment, in which the deaf, lame, blind, sick, and deformed, or sometimes prominent citizens, merchants, and mechanics, were mimicked and burlesqued. He who acted the part of a deaf man gave absurd answers to the questions put to him; the lame and blind stumbled around the stage, while the sick portrayed the agonies of pain. After them came others who represented beetles, frogs, or lizards, croaking, crawling, and hopping to and fro, after the manner of the creatures which they imitated. Boys from the temples also appeared as birds and butterflies, and climbed the trees in the court-yard. The priests amused themselves and the audience by blowing mud-balls at the actors through wooden tubes, and praised or censured the performance in jocular mood. The entertainment concluded with a dance, which was attended by all the actors.

The gymnastic and acrobatic feats of the Mexicans called forth the admiration of their conquerors, and the court of Spain, before which some of the athletes were introduced, was

no less astonished at their grace, daring, and strength. The so-called Chinese foot-balancing trick, in which the performer, lying on his back, spins a heavy pole on the soles of his raised feet, throws it up, catches it, and twirls it in every direction, was excelled by the Nahua gymnast, who twirled the pole with a man sitting at each end of it. A favorite feat was for three men, mounted one on the shoulders of another, and the third standing on the head of the second, to move slowly around the circle of spectators, while a kind of dance was performed by the man at the top of the human column. Again, an acrobat would dance on the top of a beam, the lower end of which was forked, and rested on the shoulders of two other dancers. Some raised a stick from the ground, with a man balanced at the end of it; others leaped upon a stick set upright in the ground, or danced upon the tight-rope.

A game displaying considerable grace and daring, and known as the bird-dance, or as the Spaniards termed it, the flying game, was performed in the centre of an open place, generally a plaza. Here a tall pole was erected, and on its top was placed a wooden movable cap, resembling an inverted mortar, to which were fastened four stout ropes, supporting a wooden frame, some twelve feet square. Four longer ropes were wound thirteen times around the pole, just below the cap, and were thence passed through holes made in each of the four sides of the frame, their ends hanging several feet below. Four acrobats, who had practised some time previously and were disguised as birds, ascended by loops of cord tied around the pole, and each one having fastened a rope around his waist, they started in circular flight with outspread wings. The impulse of the start and the weight of the men set the frame in motion, and the rope unwound quicker and quicker, enabling the performers to describe at each gyration larger circles. Other performers, all richly dressed, were perched upon the frame, whence they ascended in turn to the top of the revolving cap, and there danced and beat a drum, or waived a flag, each one striving to surpass his predecessor in daring and skill.

As the acrobats neared the ground, and the ropes became untwisted, those on the frame glided down them, gaining the ground at the same time, and sometimes passing from one rope to another in their descent.

Running was practised, not only for sport or exercise, but as a profession; for the king employed large numbers of couriers, who were trained for the purpose from early childhood. Races were held at the chief temple in Mexico, under the auspices of the priests, at which prizes were awarded to the four competitors who succeeded in first gaining the topmost of the 120 steps The Nahuas must also have been expert swimmers, for it is said that travellers usually took to the water when crossing rivers, the bridges being used only by those who carried burdens.

Sham fights and reviews were held, both for the training of the army and the entertainment of the multitude. After these spectacles the soldiers competed for prizes in archery or throwing the dart, while on special occasions, as the coronation of a king, they wrestled or fought with wild beasts, and animals were pitted against each other in fenced enclosures.

The national game of the Aztecs, called the *tlachtli*, resembled the modern game of football, and was quite as lively and full of excitement. As an instance of its popularity, it may be mentioned that a certain number of towns contributed, by way of taxation, 16,000 balls, which were of solid India-rubber, and three or four inches in diameter. In all the larger towns, a special play-ground was devoted to the game, and the kings kept professional players for their own diversion, sometimes challenging each other to a game. The ground, called the *tlachco*, was an alley 100 feet long and half that width, except at the ends, where there where rectangular nooks, which doubtless served as resting-places. The players, of whom there were two or three on each side, were attired only in the *maxtli*, though some wore skins to protect the parts which came in contact with the balls. The rule was to hit the ball with the knee, elbow, or shoulder, as agreed upon, and a point

was scored when it touched or was driven over the wall at the opposite end. To strike the ball with any part of the body not agreed upon caused the loss of a point, and to settle such matters without dispute, a priest acted as referee.

On each of the side walls, at equal distances from the ends, was a large stone, carved with images of idols, and in the centre of which was a hole just large enough to admit the passage of the ball. He who by chance or skill drove it through one of these holes, not only won the game for his side, but was entitled to the cloaks of all the spectators; and the haste with which the latter dispersed in order to save their garments is said to have been the most amusing part of the entertainment. A feat so difficult was of course rarely achieved, and he who accomplished it was held in as much honor as was accorded by the Greeks to a victor at the Olympic games.

With few exceptions, the dress of all the civilized nations of Mexico appears to have been the same. In the earliest times of which we have any record, the natives were clad in skins, which covered only the lower portions of the body. By degrees this scanty covering was exchanged for a regular costume, though still consisting merely of undressed skins. As civilization advanced, a further improvement may be noticed, garments being manufactured first of tanned or prepared skins, then of maguey, or palm-tree fibre, and finally of cotton. From this point no further progress was made, except in adorning the attire with feather-work, painting, embroidery, gold-work, and jewelry.

The maxtli, or under-garment of the men, was ornamented at the ends with colored fringes and tassels. Over this was worn the mantle, which was merely a piece of cotton cloth about four feet square. If worn over both shoulders, the upper ends were tied in a knot across the breast; but more frequently it was thrown over the left shoulder and knotted under the right arm. It was usually colored or painted, and decorated with feathers and furs, the edges being fringed with tufts of cotton, and sometimes with gold. The rich had also mantles

made of rabbit and other skins, or of fine cotton, into which was woven rabbit hair, the latter being for use in cold weather.

The attire of the nobles and members of the royal household differed from that of the lower classes only in fineness of material and profusion of ornaments. The kings appear to have worn garments of the same shape as those of their subjects, but in other respects a certain style of dress was reserved for royalty, and he who presumed to imitate it was put to death. When, however, the monarch wished to confer a special mark of favor on some valiant soldier or distinguished statesman, he presented him with one of his garments, and its wearer was thenceforth respected as a man whom his sovereign delighted to honor.

Whenever the monarch appeared in public he wore the royal crown, called *copilli*, which was made of solid gold. By most writers it is described as having been shaped like a bishop's mitre; but the hieroglyphical paintings in which the Mexican kings are represented display merely a golden band, running to a point at the front, and sometimes ornamented with long feathers.

Like all semi-barbarous nations, the Nahuas were in the habit of loading themselves with ornaments. Those worn by the kings, the nobles, and the rich were of gold or silver, set with precious stones; those of the poorer classes were of copper or bone, set with imitations in crystal of the rarer jewels. The various trinkets were fashioned in the shape of bracelets, armlets, anklets, and rings for the nose, ears, and fingers. The lower lip was also pierced, and precious stones or crystals inserted, the richer classes using for this purpose a species of emerald. There were very stringent regulations as to the kind of ornaments which the different classes of people were allowed to wear, and it is said that to certain very brave though low-born warriors, permission was granted, as a special favor, to wear a cheap garland or crown; but on no account must it be of gold.

As a rule, Mexicans wore the hair long, and, in many parts

of the empire, it was considered a disgrace to cut the locks of a free-born man or woman. They had several methods of dressing the hair, differing according to rank and office, though it was the usual custom to leave it hanging loose down the back. The women also wore it in the latter fashion; but it was more often trimmed in various modes. Thus some wore it long on the temples and shaved the back of the head; others shaved almost the entire head, and others again twisted the hair with dark cotton thread. Unmarried girls always wore the hair loose, and considered it especially graceful to wear it low on the forehead. It was also fashionable to dye the locks with a species of black clay, or with an herb that gave to them a violet shade.

For the purpose of beautifying, as they thought, their persons, the Nahua women used paint freely, and among some nations they were also tattoed. The Aztecs besmeared their faces with a red, yellow, or black ointment, composed probably of burnt incense and dye, and colored their feet black with the same mixture. Their teeth, after being cleansed, were stained with cochineal, and the hands, neck, and breast were also painted. The Otomís tattoed their breasts and arms, making incisions with a knife, and rubbing into them a blue powder. They stained their teeth black, and daubed their bodies with a species of pitch, covering this with a coating of some lighter color.

In the attire of the women there was little difference throughout Anáhuac. Two sleeveless undergarments of skin, palm-fibre, or cotton covered the person from neck to ankle, and were often neatly embroidered and ornamented. Out of doors one or more outer dresses were worn, of different lengths, the longest one being underneath. White mantles, painted in various designs on the outside, and similar in size and shape to those used by men, were also worn by females, and to the upper edge was fastened a hood, which served as a covering for the head.

CHAPTER X.

LANGUAGE, HIEROGLYPHICS, EDUCATION, AND CALENDAR.

THE Nahua, Aztec, or Mexican was the language spoken throughout the greater part of Montezuma's empire, from the plateau of Anáhuac eastward to the gulf of Mexico, and along its shores almost from Vera Cruz to the Pacific. It has been claimed that the languages of the Toltecs and Chichimecs differed from each other, and from the Aztec, and it is even said that traces have been found of a language more ancient than any of them. A careful examination of early authorities shows, however, that they were one language, and that the Nahua tongue was the oldest language of Anáhuac.

Of all the languages spoken on the American continent, the Aztec was the most perfect, approaching in this respect the tongues of Europe and Asia, and even surpassing many of them in elegance of expression. It abounds in tropes and metaphors, and some critics are of opinion that it excels in beauty the Latin. The missionaries found it sufficient for their purpose, and without the aid of foreign words could express all the shades of their doctrines, from the thunderings and anathemas of Sinai to the sublime teachings of Christ. Its principal defect is the length of the words, some of them almost rivalling the compound word known to Greek scholars, containing nearly eighty syllables, and signifying a dish made of all kinds of dainties. In Aztec a single word often conveyed the meaning of a phrase, as *tepetitlan*, 'above the mountain,' *atlixco*, 'above the water,' *cauuhnahuac*, 'near to the trees,' *popocatepetl*, 'smoking mountain.' Words were compounded not merely by juxtaposition, or placing single words side by side, but also with regard to brevity and euphony, or beauty of sound, letters and syllables being frequently omitted. Though the Mexicans composed in verse, no specimens of their poetry have been pre-

served, except in the form of translations. The following is the greater portion of the Lord's prayer, rendered literally from the Nahua language:—

Totatzine yuilhuicac timoyez-tica, mayectenehualo inmo-
Our revered Father who heaven-in art be praised thy
tocatzin; mahualauh inmotlatocayotzin, machihualo intlaltic-
name; may come thy kingdom, be done earth above
pac inmotlanequilitzin, inyuhchichihualo inilhuicac; intotlax-
thy will, as is done heaven in; our bread
calmomoztlae totech monequi maaxcan xitechmomaquili; max-
every day to us is necessary to-day give us; for-
itechmetlapopohuili intotlatlacol, iniuh tiquintlapop olhuia
give us our sins; as we forgive
intechtlatla calhuia; macamoxitechmomacahuili inicamo ipan
those who us offend; thou not us lead that not in
tihuetzizque inteneyeyecoltiliztli çanye xitechmomaquixtili
we fall in temptation; but deliver us
inyhuicpa inamoqualli.
against from not good.

Many comparisons have been made between the Aztec and various languages of Europe and Asia, as the Greek, the San-

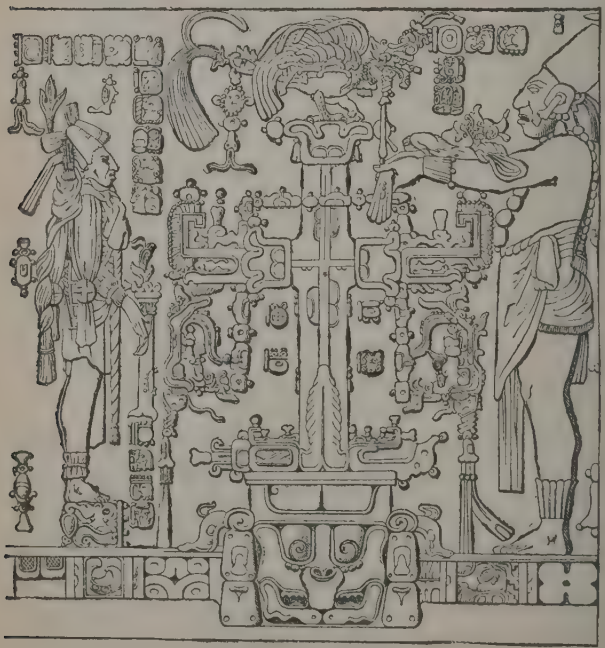
SERPENTINE HIEROGLYPHIC BLOCK.

skrit, the Hebrew, the Phœnician, the Egyptian, the Tyrian, the Japanese, the German, the Keltic, and even the Polynesian; but under analysis all these fancied affinities vanish. Similarities in words may of course be found between the Az-

TABLET FOUND IN PALENQUE, CHIAPAS.

tec and other tongues, but they are probably accidental. Some remarkable analogies have been found, among which may be mentioned the word signifying God, which is in the Aztec Teotl, and in the Greek θεός; but at present the Nahua tongue stands alone, as one of the independent languages of the world.

The hieroglyphical records of the Aztecs, by which phrase



TABLILLA DE LAS CRUCES.

is meant their picture-writings and carvings in stone, used to represent the various events of life, included their traditions and historical annals, with the names of their kings and nobles

and those of their ancestors. They also contained lists and tribute rolls of provinces and towns, land titles, laws, religious rites, educational systems, processes used in manufacture, etc. The characters used in their hieroglyphics were painted in bright colors, on long strips of paper, cloth, or parchment, or carved in stone. Specimens which still exist show that they were sufficient for ordinary purposes, and were not greatly inferior to written annals. For many years after the conquest the Spaniards made use of them to settle lawsuits, adjust taxes, and for other purposes, and they have been of great value in throwing light on ancient history. It is probable that the art, so far as it applied to the names of persons and places, and to ordinary records, was understood by all educated persons, though regarded as a mystery by the common people.

The figures were painted in bright colors on long strips of cotton cloth, on parchment or prepared skins, and on maguey paper, which were afterward rolled up, or more frequently folded into the shape of books, termed *amatl*, and furnished with thin wooden covers. Unfortunately, the most valuable of these picture-writings have been destroyed. Their contents were believed to be for the most part religious mysteries, painted devices of the evil one, the strongest band that held the people to their original faith, and therefore the most formidable obstacle to the spread of the true faith. Hence their destruction was believed to be necessary to the spread of the gospel. To Juan de Zumárraga belongs the uneviable distinction of making a public bonfire of the national archives of the Aztecs.

The plate on the following page describes in four groups the education of Aztec children under the care of their parents. In the first group, the father (fig. 3) is punishing his son by holding him over the fumes of burning chile (fig. 5), while the mother threatens her daughter with the same punishment. Figures 2 and 8 represent, like 11, 16, 20, 24, 30, and 34 in the other groups, the child's allowance of tortillas at each meal. In the second group, the son is punished by being stretched

EDUCATION OF AZTEC CHILDREN.

naked on the wet ground, and with his hands tied, while the girl is compelled to sweep, or perhaps is being taught to sweep. In the third group, the boys are employed in conveying wood (fig. 21) and reeds on the back or in a canoe, and the girl is being taught how to make tortillas (fig. 27), and perform household work (figs. 23, 25, 26, 28). In the last group, the father is teaching his son the art of fishing, and the mother is instructing the daughter in weaving. The small circles (figs. 1, 10, 19, 20) indicate the age of the children. The characters near the mouth of the parents indicate that they are in the act of speaking. The figure 14 is a symbol of night, and indicates that, as a punishment, the child is compelled to sweep during the hours of darkness.

On the two following pages is a copy of a painting taken from the work of the chronicler Ramirez, one of the most reliable authorities on the subject of picture-writing. This painting, preserved in the National Museum, and about 20 by 27 inches in size, was depictured on the finest quality of maguey paper, and afterward on linen.

The winding and almost parallel lines, with numerous footprints, by which the groups of figures are united, represent a journey, and there is little doubt that the entire painting depicts the wanderings of the Aztec nation. The square at the right and near the centre of the second page represents the country from which they started, and figures 1 and 2 perhaps express its name, although the interpretation is doubtful. Figure 3 is a symbol of the Aztec cycle of fifty-two years, and figure 4 is a 'curved mountain,' or the city of Culhuacan, on the borders of a lake in the valley of Mexico. Figure 5 is a bird speaking to the people in figure 6; and among the Aztecs, as is related, there was a tradition that the song of a bird caused them to decide on their first migration.

The fifteen human forms in figures 7 and 12 are the chiefs of the migrating tribes. At their first stopping-place they remained for a cycle of years (fig. 8), and perhaps built a temple (fig. 11). For ten years, as indicated by the ten circles

43
41
40
45
44
42
46
47
48
39
50
52
51
49
38
53
77
78
37
72
73
71
70
79
54
55
69
80
56
57
63
64
67
81
58
65
74
59
62
68
75
82
61
60
66
76
83

they remained at Cincotlan (fig. 15). Figure 17 is interpreted as meaning humiliation, and figure 18 as the place of caves. At the next stopping-place, figure 20 represents a corpse, prepared for burial, his name, as shown by the character over his head, being that of the central figure in the group displayed in figure 7. As this name does not appear again, the meaning perhaps may be that one of the tribes had become extinct. But to learn the meaning of all these hieroglyphic symbols would be a somewhat wearisome task, and I shall not attempt further to explain them.

The education of children was commenced by their parents almost as soon as they were able to walk, and was finished by the priests. Apart from the superstition, idolatry, and cruelty with which all Aztec institutions were more or less tainted, the care taken to mould aright the minds of youth of both sexes is not unworthy of note. Parents and priests endeavored to inspire them with a love of truth and a horror of vice. Respect for their elders, and modesty in their actions, were among their first lessons, and theft and lying were severely punished.

In a series of ancient Aztec paintings are represented the manner in which children were trained, the portion of food allowed them, the labors in which they were employed, and the punishments inflicted on those who were refractory. During their fourth and fifth years, boys were accustomed to light bodily labor, such as carrying small burdens, while girls were instructed in the use of the distaff. At this age, their allowance of bread was one cake at each meal. When six or seven years old, the boy followed his father to the market-place, and gathered up grains of corn, or other trifles that lay unnoticed around the stalls, while the girl is represented as learning the art of spinning, under the guidance of her mother, who alternately instructs and lectures her. The ration of bread was now a cake and a half, and this allowance was continued until the thirteenth year, when it was increased to two cakes.

Next come the various modes of punishing disobedient children. When eight years of age, they were merely shown the instruments of punishment as a warning. At ten, boys who proved refractory were pricked, in various parts of the body, with thorns of the maguey, while girls were pricked in the hands and wrists. If this did not suffice, they were beaten with rods. At eleven, unruly children of both sexes were held over a pile of burning chile, and forced to inhale the smoke, which caused extreme pain. At twelve, a bad boy was bound hand and foot and exposed during the entire day in a damp place, while a naughty girl was roused from her slumbers at night and ordered to sweep out the entire house. Between the ages of thirteen and fifteen, boys were employed in fishing, or in bringing wood from the mountains, by land or in canoes, and girls spent their time in cooking, weaving, and grinding corn. The former were then placed in charge of the priests for religious instruction, or were trained for the army by an officer appointed for that purpose.

The schools or colleges were of two distinct classes. Those attended by the common people were called *telpochcalli*, or 'houses of the youths,' and there was at least one in each quarter of the city, after the manner of our public schools. The *telpochtlato*, or 'chief of youth,' instructed them how to sweep out the sanctuary, to replenish the fire in the sacred censers, to cleanse the school-house, to do penance, and to gather wood for the temple. Boys were also trained to the use of arms, and were taught how to sing and dance, the latter accomplishments being considered an essential part of their education. At sixteen, and sometimes at an earlier age, they were withdrawn from school in order to follow a trade or profession, though what qualifications they had acquired for either is not recorded by the chroniclers.

Youths of noble descent and those destined for the priesthood were educated at some college or monastery, termed in the Aztec *calmac*. They were instructed in the arts and sciences known to the Mexicans, as history, religion, philosophy,

law, astronomy, the inscription and interpretation of hieroglyphics, heroic songs, and sacred hymns. Their courage, strength, and endurance were severely tested, and at an early age they were made to realize the hardships of camp life. All who displayed qualities befitting a soldier met with suitable promotion and reward. The Nahuas were well acquainted with the movements of the sun and moon and of some of the planets, and observed and recorded eclipses, though not ascrib-

AZTEC CYCLE.

ing them to natural causes. In their calendar they divided time into ages of two cycles, each cycle consisting of four periods of thirteen years, and the years being designated by signs and names, with numbers in orderly arrangement, as appears

on their sculptured stones. The year was divided into eighteen months of twenty days, with five additional days to complete the year, extra days being also added at the end of each cycle, and the months divided into four periods corresponding to weeks, so that there was no essential difference between their system and our own.

THE AZTEC YEAR.

A cycle was represented in their paintings by figures in hieroglyphics, each repeated thirteen times, and placed in a cir-

cle, around which was painted a snake holding its tail in its mouth, at each of the four cardinal points being a twist, as shown in the plate subjoined.

Each month was represented by a hieroglyph having a certain meaning, and usually referring to some feast or natural event, as the ripening of fruit or the falling of rain, although

THE AZTEC MONTH.

there is much difference of opinion among authorities as to the names and position of the months. *Tituli*, the first month, for

instance, means, according to one of the chroniclers, 'mother of the gods,' and according to another, it means 'fire.' *Ylzcalli*, the one next to it on the diagram, has been variously translated as 'skill,' 'regeneration,' and 'the sprouting of grass.'

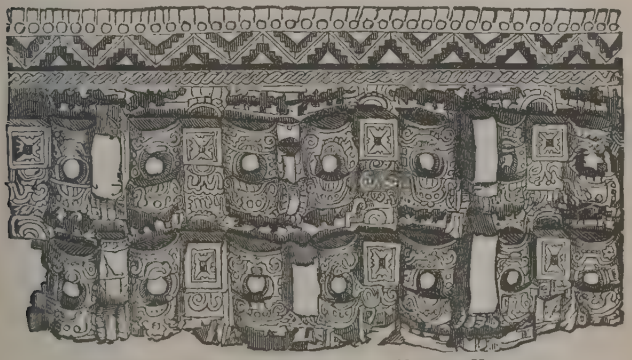
As to the names of the days and the order in which they follow one another, there is no difference of opinion, but it is extremely difficult, and in some cases impossible, to reconcile one with another the hyeroglyphic signs which represent

THE CALENDAR STONE.

them. *Cipactli*, for instance, a word the correct meaning of which cannot be ascertained, is variously represented as an animal's head with open mouth, as a fish with flint knives in

the back, as a lizard with a very long tail, and in other monstrous forms.

In a photograph of a calendar stone, of which the following is a copy, four angular spaces project, as will be seen, from the circle of days, dividing the stone into quarters, each of which has ten visible squares, and the spaces cover twelve more, making fifty-two in all. In each square are five oblong marks, which multiplied by 52 give 260, or the first period of the Mexican ritual year. The figures and hieroglyphics around the outer edge have never yet been deciphered, or if so, the various interpretations given by different writers are so contradictory that they are of little value.



Sculptured Front of Building at Kabah, Yucatan.

CHAPTER XI.

WAR AND WEAPONS.

As might be expected among an ambitious and warlike people, the military profession ranked among the Nahuas above all others, save that of the priests. To children were related by priest and parent the chivalrous deeds of their ancestors, whose daring they were taught to imitate; and titles, rewards, and posts of honor awaited him who proved himself a soldier. The king might not receive his crown until, with his own hands, he had secured captives to be offered at the feast of his coronation; the priests ranked foremost among their deities the god of battles; and war, whatever its pretext, was always regarded as a religious crusade. For the victor, the highest of earthly rewards were in store, and the soul of him who fell in combat took instant flight to heaven. Cowardice only and defeat were to be dreaded.

The Nahua warrior served without pay, and was rewarded only with promotion; but promotion surely followed brilliant exploits, though performed by the lowest soldier, while apart from such deeds, he of noble birth could not hope for advancement. Special care was given, however, to the sons of lords destined for the profession of arms. At an early age their heads were shaved, except for a tuft at the back, and at fifteen the youth was sent to the field of battle in charge of veteran warriors. If, with their aid, he should capture a prisoner, the tuft was removed, and in its place, one was presented to him, adorned with plumes, to be worn over the ear. On his return he was thus addressed by his uncles or grandparents: "My child, the sun and the earth have washed and renewed thy face, because thou didst dare to attempt the capture of an enemy in company with others. Lo, now it were better to abandon thee to the mercies of the enemy than that thou

shouldst again take a prisoner with the aid of others, because, should it so happen, they will place another tuft over thine other ear and thou wilt appear like a girl; truly, it were better thou shouldst die than this should happen to thee." If, after a fair trial, the youth failed to take a captive, he was disgraced, and ceased to be a warrior in the eyes of his comrades; but if, unaided, he was successful, he was led before the king, whose stewards presented him with mantles and maxtlis of the colors and designs to which his deeds entitled him.

Three military orders were established by the Aztecs, the members of which were called princes, eagles, and tigers. To the first of these belonged Montezuma II., who, when he took the field, wore greaves and bracelets of gold. Around his neck was a golden collar, and chains of gold and precious stones; from his ears and lower lip depended ornaments of gold, set with emeralds, and from head to waist was suspended the glittering decoration of royalty, wrought of costly feathers and jewels. On his shield was displayed in feather-work the royal coat of arms, and in his hand was a large shell, on which he gave the signal for battle.

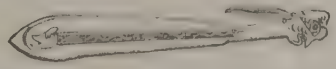
The armor of the Nahua knights, though of little avail against the fire-arms and swordsmanship of the Spaniards, served well for protection against Mexican weapons. Shields were usually made of bamboo cane, bound firmly together, and covered with hide. They were ornamented according to the rank and taste of the bearer, those of the nobles being plated with gold and with a heavy boss in the centre. On portions of the coast tortoise shells, inlaid with gold, silver, or copper, were used as shields. The body armor of the nobles consisted of a breast-piece of quilted cotton, one or two inches in thickness, over which was worn a thick coat of the same material, decorated with feathers. This covering was completely arrow-proof, and was afterward adopted by the Spaniards in place of their heavy mail of steel. Arm and leg guards of wood, covered with leather or gold plates, and helmets, shaped and painted to represent the head of a tiger.

serpent, or monster, completed the defensive armor. Over a cuirass of gold and silver plates some of the wealthier lords wore a garment of feathers, which, it is said, would ward off the stroke of an arrow or javelin.

Aztec Knight.

The offensive weapons of the Aztecs consisted of bows and arrows, slings, clubs, spears, swords, and javelins, and in their use the soldiers were thoroughly skilled. The bow, made of tough, elastic wood, was about five feet in length, and for strings they used the sinews of animals or twisted stags' hair.

The arrow was of light cane, with a few inches of oak at the end, in which was inserted a fish bone, or a point of obsidian. The sling was made of braided fibre, broader in the middle than at the ends, and missiles were carried in a pouch suspended from the waist. The club tapered from the handle toward the point, and was filled with jagged pieces of obsidian or tempered copper, the spears being pointed with the same



MACANA — ABORIGINAL AZTEC WEAPON.

materials. The swords were of tough wood, about three and a half feet long, and with a flat blade, to both sides of which were fastened transversely sharpened pieces of obsidian. Many of them were two-handed, and it is said that, with this weapon, a powerful warrior could, at one blow, cut a man in two or sever a horse's head. The javelin, like the arrow, was made of bamboo, the point being hardened in the fire or tipped with copper, bone, or obsidian. Of all the weapons of the Aztecs these were the most dreaded by their Spanish conquerors.

When war was declared, an expedition, if an important one, was composed of several divisions, each of 8,000 men. The priests with their idols set forth in advance, followed at an interval of one day's march by the choice battalions of the army; next came the soldiers of Mexico; after them the Tezcucans, and then those of Tlacopan, the rear being closed by the troops of other provinces, and all the divisions being separated by a day's march.

The battle was sometimes fought on neutral ground between the confines of two territories, a space being reserved for this purpose and left uncultivated. Before the action commenced, the high-priest or chieftain addressed the soldiers, reminding them of the glory to be gained by victory, and the eternal bliss in store for those who fell, and concluded by exhorting them to fight valiantly, and put their trust in the god of battles.

The combat was opened by the archers, slingers, and javelin men, who, as they discharged their missiles, gradually drew nearer to the foe, until they came to close quarters and could use their swords and spears. All movements, whether in advance or in retreat, were rapidly executed, and sometimes retreat was feigned for the purpose of drawing the enemy into an ambuscade. The captains and commanders of divisions used every effort to keep their men together, and especially to protect the standard, for if that was captured the battle was considered lost, and all took to flight.

The principal object was not to slay, but to take prisoners, and when an enemy refused to surrender, he was wounded in the leg in order to prevent his escape. Ransom was never accepted for captives, and with rare exceptions they were offered in sacrifice to the gods. When, however, a renowned captain or noble was made prisoner, he was allowed the privilege of fighting for his liberty, the ground selected being an open space near the temple of the war god, large enough to contain a vast multitude. In the centre was a circular mound, about eight feet high, with steps leading to the top, where was placed a large round stone, smooth and adorned with figures. To this stone, called *temalacatl*, the captive was fastened by the ankle, his weapons being a sword and shield. His capturer, better armed than his opponent, then mounted the stone to do battle with him. Both men fought desperately, the prisoner for his life and liberty, and his adversary to sustain his reputation. If the former was vanquished, he was at once led to the sacrifice, and the victor was rewarded with military honors. If, however, he overcame his adversary and six other combatants, with whom he must fight in succession, he was allowed his liberty, the spoils taken from him were restored, and he returned to his people covered with glory.

CHAPTER XII.

ANTIQUITIES.

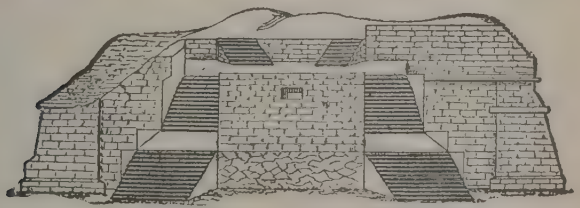
The ruins discovered in the northern regions of Mexico are of a ruder description than those found toward the south, belonging, apparently, to communities of no great size and strength, and built mainly for defence. In the sierras of

Ruins of Quemada.

north-western Chihuahua is a celebrated group called the Casas Grandes, the walls of which are still from five to thirty feet above the surrounding débris, and in some parts, five feet

in thickness. The remains are similar in character and design to those found in New Mexico and Arizona, the materials used being adobe, or sun-dried blocks of mud and gravel. The largest building of this group was eight hundred feet long and two hundred and fifty in breadth. It was of rectangular shape, and built in successive terraces, the highest, which was also the innermost, probably having six or seven stories, for remnants of the interior walls, fifty feet in height, are still in existence. In ruins of this class, there are no indications that they were used for religious worship.

The most remarkable ruins in northern Mexico are those found at Quemada in Zacatecas, about thirty miles south of the capital of that state. In these extensive remains are found broad stone terraces and wide causeways, time-worn pyramids, and huge columns, seventeen feet in circumference and eighteen feet in height. Massive walls of various dimensions, some of them twelve feet in thickness, rise above the débris. These



Temple Pyramid, Cerro de las Juntas

monuments tell of a powerful people, and are specially interesting because they display features not elsewhere noted, and bear little resemblance to those discovered farther to the north and south.

At Tollan, the modern Tula, and the ancient capital of the Toltecs, extensive ruins were found at the time of the Spanish conquest, and in later years many interesting relics were unearthed, among which may be mentioned a zodiac and a hieroglyph now in the lintel over the principal entrance of the great

EARTHEN VASE, TULA.

church at Tula, and a beautiful font at the door of the same building.

The valley of Mexico is rich in antiquities. About thirty miles to the north of the capital are the ruins of Teotihuacan, or the City of the Gods, the letter A in the plan showing the

PLAN OF TEOTIHUACAN.

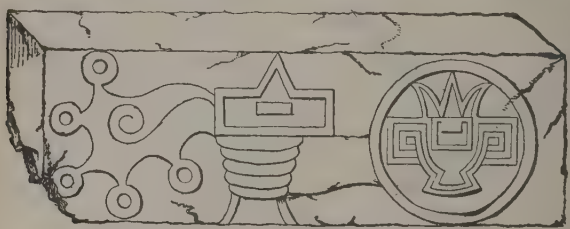
position of the Pyramid of the Moon; B, the Pyramid of the Sun; CD, the Road of the Dead; and E, the Citadel; the smaller letters and numerals marking scattered mounds and miscellaneous relics. The Pyramid of the Moon has a base measuring 426 feet from north to south, and 511 feet from east to west, its height being 137 feet. The Pyramid of the Sun is of larger dimensions, having a base of 735 feet from east to west, with a height of 203 feet. These structures are about half a mile apart, and from the summit of the latter the surrounding ruins can be easily traced; the plough passes over the foundations of this once populous city, and its site is covered with fields of maize. The Road of the Dead is marked by two parallel lines of mounds, forming an avenue 250 feet wide, extending from the Pyramid of the Moon to a stream, on the south side of which is the Citadel, a quadrangular enclosure 984 feet square.

At Tezcuco many interesting traces remain of aboriginal

Pyramid of Xochicalco.

architecture. Wherever excavations have been made, fragments of building material are found, and in the house walls of the modern city are sculptured blocks of stone, used in the construction of edifices many centuries ago. But the finest ruins in this part of Mexico are at Xochicalco, or the Hill of Flowers, about seventy-five miles south of the capital. In this hill subterranean galleries and apartments have been discovered, and on its summit are the remains of a beautifully sculptured pyramid, built of large blocks of granite or porphyry,

quarried many leagues from the spot, though some of them are eleven feet long and three feet in height. It is said that this structure consisted of five receding stories, all of which



SCULPTURED BLOCK FROM HUAHUAPAN.

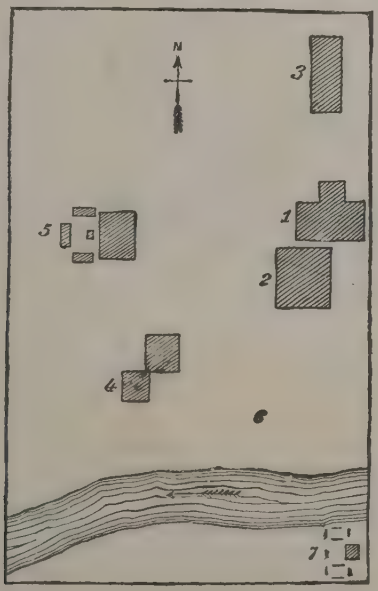
remained as late as 1755; but the wholesale vandalism, permitted within recent years, has done its work; the stones being carried away by the proprietors of neighboring sugar-works, to be used in the construction of their furnaces.

FORTRESS RUINS — MONTE ALBAN.

In the state of Oajaca, the ancient home of the Zapotecs and Mixtecs, there is also a rich field for antiquarian research. In Huahuapan, and elsewhere on its northern border, are many interesting relics, and at the junction of the rivers Quiotpec

and Salado stands a hill, a mile in length and over a thousand feet in height, the sides of which, where not precipitous, are covered with ruins. The slopes are terraced and supported with perpendicular walls of stone, upon the terraces being the foundations of small buildings, mounds in great number, and underground tombs. On the summit are the remains of more stately edifices, probably of palaces and temples.

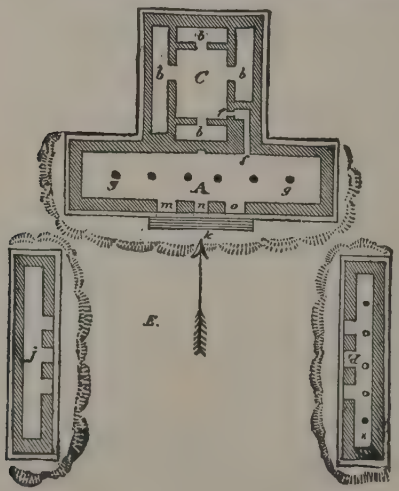
On the western side of the city of Oajaca are the extensive mounds and fortifications of Monte Alban, built on a plateau about 900 yards long and 300 yards wide, and extending along



PLAN OF MITLA.

the summit of a range of precipitous hills. Here are to be seen the remains of spacious courts, mounds traversed by galleries at the base, and enormous masses of masonry, the remnants of temples, palaces, and forts. These are considered by

more than one authority the oldest traces of native civilization. But the most celebrated group of ruins in Oajaca, and probably the finest in all the territory of the Nahuas, is the one at Mitla, the former abode and burial-place of the Zapotec kings. The figures 1, 2, 3, and 4 mark the structures usually regarded as palaces, 5 and 7 are pyramids, and 6 shows the site of the village. No ruins in Mexico are more elaborately ornamented in the peculiar mosaic style which distinguishes them, the best preserved being those of the palace marked No. 1, of which I give cuts representing the ground-plan, and



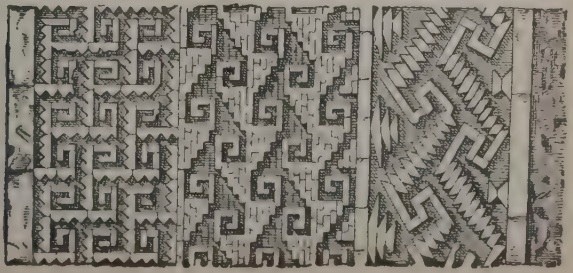
GROUND-PLAN OF PALACE No. 1.

façade, together with an illustration of the mosaic work in one of the apartments.

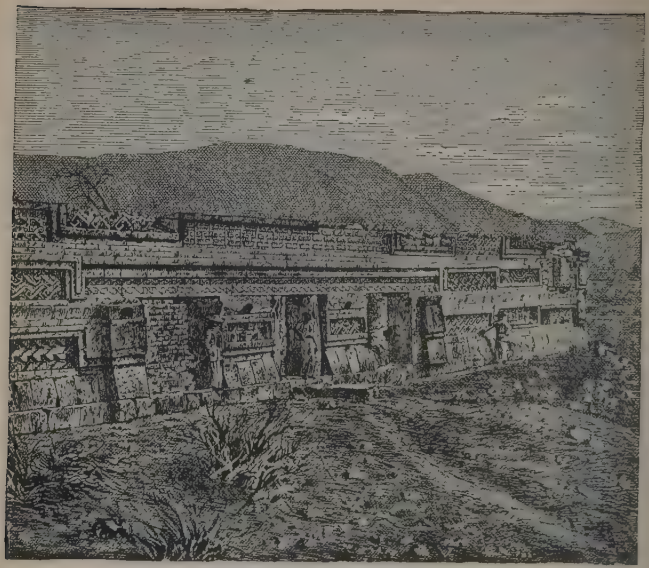
Farther toward the south, the isthmus of Tehuantepec may be considered a dividing line between the Nahuas and the Mayas, though one not clearly defined. A short distance

RUINS OF MITLA.

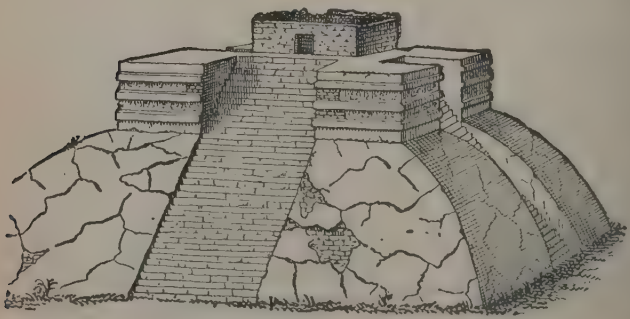
from the city of Tehuantepec are remains of fortifications extending over a surface more than four leagues in length, and one and a half in width. Vestiges of dwellings have also been found, and on the summit of a hill are two remarkable pyra-



MOSAIC WORK.



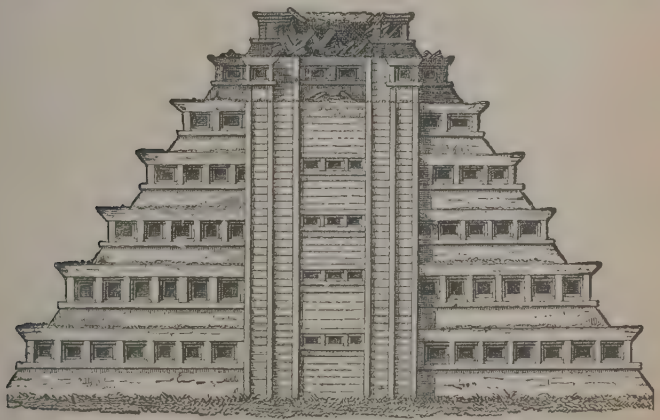
FACADE OF PALACE NO. 1.



PYRAMID NEAR TEHUANTEPEC.

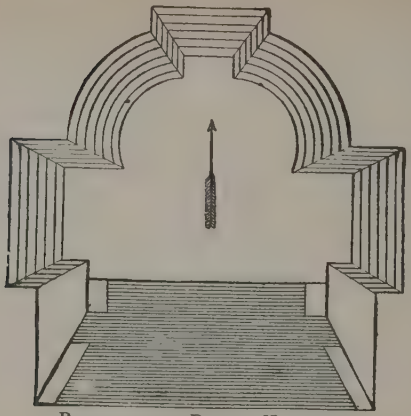
mids, both ascended by a main staircase, thirty feet wide, and by two lateral stairways. In the one shown in this cut, the curved slope of the lower story is a feature not met with farther south, and seldom even among the ruins of northern Mexico. In the neighborhood of Petapa, some fifty miles to the north, is a labyrinth of caves, artificially enlarged, where the remains of princes and nobles were deposited, and at the port of Guatulco traces of an ancient city may yet be observed.

Of the ruins found in the valley of Anáhuac, apart from those which have been mentioned, a sufficient idea may be formed from the descriptions already given of its palaces and temples. Passing into the modern state of Vera Cruz, the traveller meets with unnumbered traces of its native population. At Papantl Huatusco, Tusapan, and elsewhere are



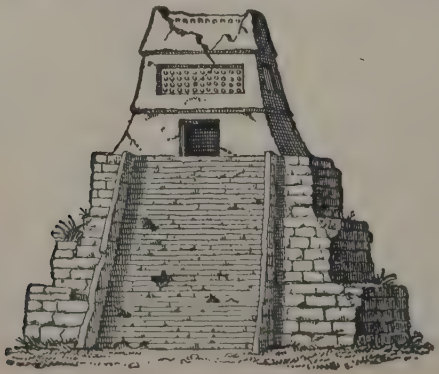
Pyramid near Papantla.

tumuli, or mounds, ruins of pyramids and edifices, sculptured stones of enormous size, and fragments of strong defensive works, extending almost from Pánuco to the isthmus of Tehuantepec. A small triangular portion of Vera Cruz, two sides of which are formed by the highways from the capital to

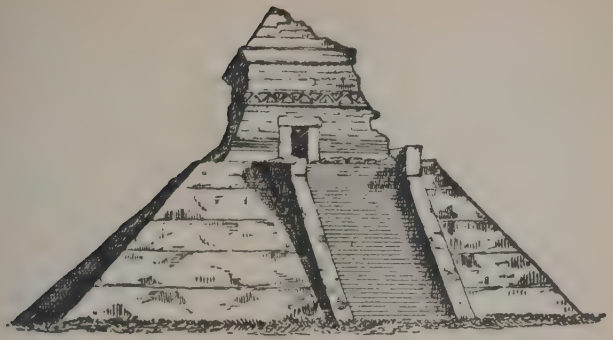


PYRAMID NEAR PUENTE NACIONAL.

Jalapa and Orizaba, is literally covered with aboriginal remains, among which may be mentioned a very curious pyramid in the neighborhood of Puente Nacional. The whole of this region, no matter how poor the soil, was cultivated by its former occupants, the slopes being formed into terraces by



HUATUSCO PYRAMID.



PYRAMID AT TUSAPAN.

parallel stone walls, which follow all the variations of the surface, and were apparently constructed for the purpose of preventing the earth from being washed away by heavy rains.

STATUES FOUND AT NOHPAT, YUCATAN.

CHAPTER XIII.

CITIES, DWELLINGS, AND TEMPLES.

THE most celebrated of the Nahua cities was Mexico Tenochtitlan, the word 'Mexico' being probably derived from *Mexi*, or *Mexitl*, another name for the god of war; 'Tenochtitlan,' from *tenochtli*, the fruit of the nopal,—a species of cactus; and *tetl*, a stone or rock; the termination *an* being an affix denoting place. It is said that about the year 1325, the Aztecs, weary of their unsettled condition and hard pressed by their foes, sought refuge on the western shore of the lake of Mexico. Here, as tradition relates, on an island among the marshes, they found a stone on which, forty years before, one of their priests had sacrificed a captive prince, named Copil. From a cleft in this stone, in which was imbedded a little earth, grew a nopal, where was perched an eagle holding in its beak a serpent. Impelled by an unseen power, a priest dived into a pool near by, and there beheld Tlaloc, the god of waters, who gave to the people permission to settle on the adjacent lands. Thus was founded the capital of Anáhuac, its circumference being estimated, some two centuries later, at four leagues, the number of houses at 60,000, and the number of inhabitants at 300,000. Fifty other towns, most of them containing more than 3,000 dwellings, were scattered among the islands and around the shores of the lake, over the shoal waters of which glided 200,000 canoes.

In the capital four grand avenues, paved with a smooth, hard crust of cement, were laid out at right angles, following the cardinal points of the compass, and were broad enough for the passage of ten horsemen riding abreast. On account of its position in the midst of a lake, canals were used as thoroughfares for traffic, many of them being provided with basins and locks for retaining the waters. Bridges so constructed that

they could be drawn up at will, whenever it was desired to cut off communication between the various quarters of the city, connected the cross-streets and lanes.

MEXICO IN THE TIME OF THE MONTEZUMAS

Next in fame and rank to Mexico Tenochtitlan was Tezcuco, which, with a circumference of three or four leagues, was divided into numerous wards, each one occupied by a distinct class of tradesmen, and crossed by a series of regular and well-defined streets, lined with tasteful buildings. On a triple terrace, at the border of the lake, stood an ancient palace, and at its northern edge was a magnificent building, containing 300 apartments, in the construction of which 200,000 men had been employed. This city was regarded by the Nahuas as the home of refinement and elegance, occupying the same position in Mexico that is now accorded to Paris among European nations.

In style of architecture the dwellings of the Aztecs displayed little variety, the difference between one house and another being mainly in size and material. Those of the nobles were usually built on terraces, though where the land was swampy, as in Mexico, they rested on tiers of piles. They commonly included a group of buildings, in the form of a parallelogram,

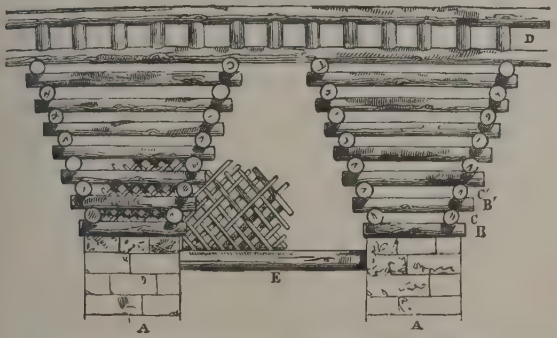
PALACE AT UXMAL, YUCATAN.

constructed of stone and cement, and whitened and polished with gypsum. Each residence was detached from the one next to it by narrow lanes, and enclosed one or more courts, which covered a large portion of the space. Most of them had but one story, and it is nowhere related that any of the palaces

or private houses exceeded two stories. The courts, which were paved with polished and checkered marble, often contained a beautiful fountain, and sometimes a flower-garden,

CARVING ON GATE, MITLA.

was surrounded by numerous porticos decorated with jasper, porphyry, and alabaster ornaments. In front were two large halls and several reception-rooms, and in the rear were the bed-chambers, bath-rooms, kitchen, and storerooms. The stairway leading to the second story or to the roof was fre-



TRACE OF ORIGINAL STRUCTURE IN WOOD, UXMAL.

quently on the outside, and by its grand proportions and graceful form contributed not a little to the beauty of the edifice. The roof was made of beams, covered with clay or cement, surrounded by a battlemented parapet, and sloping a little toward the back. Here the members of the household assembled in the cool of the evening to enjoy the fresh air and the surrounding prospect.

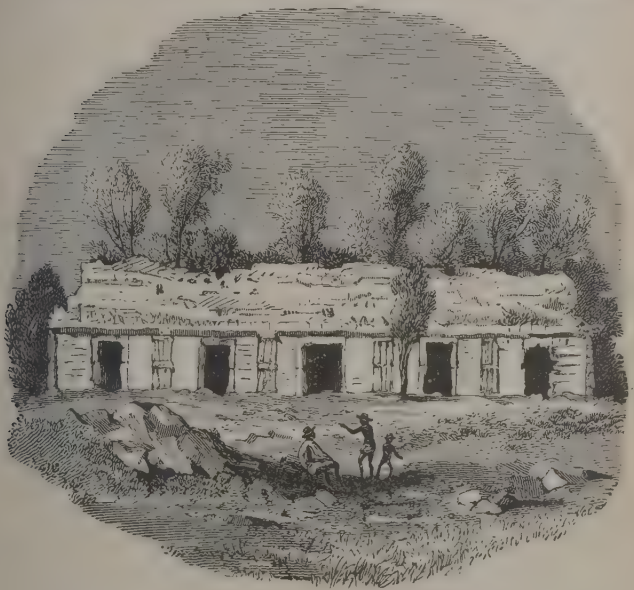
In the interior the floors were covered with a hard, smooth cement, on which was laid a coating of ochre or gypsum, and the walls were hung with cotton or feather tapestry, embellished with gold and silver. The furniture was scanty, consisting principally of mats and cushions of fur or palm-leaves,

PALACE OF PALENQUE, CHIAPAS.

and a few small tables and stools. For beds mats were used, piled one upon another, and for pillows cotton or palm-leaf cushions. Sometimes there were also coverlets and canopies of cotton or feather-work; and through the chambers of the rich, smouldering incense diffused its perfume. The winter apartments were provided with hearths and fire-screens and lighted with torches. There were no doors, properly so called, in any of the dwellings, a bamboo or wicker-work screen

being suspended across the entrance, and secured at night with a bar when privacy was desired.

The houses of the poorer classes were built of adobe, wood, or reeds mixed with mud, all of them plastered and polished,



FRONT OF BUILDING AT SANACTÉ, YUCATAN.

and in Mexico, resting on foundations of rock in order to exclude the damp. They were usually of an oblong shape, were divided into several apartments, and some had a gallery in front. Though terraced roofs were not uncommon, most of the humbler dwellings were thatched with long, thick grass, or with maguey leaves, and in place of a central court, there was, where space permitted, a vegetable or flower garden.

When the Aztecs halted, after their wearisome migrations, on the site of Mexico, their first care was to erect an abode for

their favorite idol, the god of war. The spot selected for this structure — which at first consisted of a mere hut — was around the stone whence grew the nopal, and where was perched the eagle. Soon afterward, a building more worthy of the god was erected, and later was constructed the edifice from the summit of which Cortés looked down upon the scene of his conquest. The last of these temples was completed in two years, though the labor bestowed on it was immense, the material being brought from a distance of three or four leagues, and that at a time when beasts of burden were unknown to the Aztecs.

The building stood in a great square, forming the centre of the town, and from which radiated the four principal thoroughfares. The court-yard was enclosed by a square wall of stone and lime, plastered and polished, about 4,800 feet in circumference, from eight to nine feet in height, and of great thickness, the sides facing the cardinal points of the compass. In the centre stood the great temple, which in shape formed the lower section of a truncated pyramid, being about 375 feet long and 300 feet broad at the base, and rising in perpendicular terraces to a height of 86 feet. Flights of steps led from terrace to terrace, so arranged that the priests were compelled to walk completely round the edifice in order to gain each succeeding stairway. The structure was of earth, stones, and clay, covered with square blocks of *tetzontli*, a porous stone, all of equal size, hewn smooth, joined with a fine cement, and covered with a polished coating of lime or gypsum, so that few marks were visible on the surface.

On the lower story were two sanctuaries, one of them dedicated to the god of war and the other to Tezcatlipoca, or the Shining Mirror. The gigantic images of these idols rested upon altars of stone, three or four feet in height, and were shielded from the gaze of the multitude by curtains adorned with tassels and hollow golden pellets, which tinkled like bells when the draperies moved. Before the altar of the war-god stood the terrible stone of sacrifice, a block of jasper about five feet in length and rising in a ridge at the top, so as to bend

upward the body of the victim, and thus allow the heart to be more easily extracted. The upper stories were used as receptacles for the ashes of deceased monarchs and nobles, and for the instruments connected with the service of the temples. In front of each chapel was a stone hearth, upon which, as on the shrine of Vesta at Rome, fires were ever burning, and great calamity was apprehended if they should ever be extinguished.

From the temple of the war-god could be counted within the enclosure more than seventy smaller edifices, with their six hundred braziers of stone, where bright fires, perpetually burning in honor of the gods, turned the night into day. Of these about forty were temples, each with its idols scattered round the court and facing the great pyramid, as though in adoration. The largest was that of Tlaloc, which was ascended by fifty steps, and the most singular in form was the one dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, which was surmounted by a dome, symbolic of the god of air, the entrance being in the shape of a snake's jaws with exposed fangs. Among other remarkable structures were the House of Mirrors and the House of Shells, to the latter of which the king retired at certain seasons to do penance. A temple dedicated to Venus contained a large column painted or sculptured with the image of that planet; and in a cage-like building, which also ranked as a temple, were kept the idols of conquered nations, in order to prevent them from aiding their worshippers to regain their liberty. The care of all these buildings was intrusted to an army of priests, monks, nuns, school children, and others, mustering in all from five to ten thousand, all of whom slept within the sacred precincts; but though teeming with life at all hours of the night and day, the most perfect order and cleanliness were observed.

Scattered throughout the wards of the capital, there were countless other temples and public oratories, attended by their special priests and servants. Those in other towns resembled very closely, though on a smaller scale, the buildings that have already been described. The pyramid at Cholula, however, far exceeded in size any of the temples of Anáhuac,

its circumferenee being estimated at more than 5,700 feet, and its height at 177 feet. Like the one in Mexico, it consisted of four rectangular terraces, facing the cardinal points. On its summit stood a chapel dedicated to Quetzalcoatl, in the shape of a half-sphere, and with an entrance so low that all who passed beneath it must bend in humility.

The total number of temples in Anáhuac has been estimated at 80,000, and in the city of Mexico there were probably about 2,000. The revenues needed for their support and repair were derived from lands belonging to the church, from taxes, and from voluntary contributions,—the last being of all kinds, from a cake or feather to slaves or priceless gems, given in performance of a vow. Quantities of food were also brought by the children attending the schools,—which were entirely in charge of the priests,—and there were never wanting devout women to prepare it. If the revenues were more than were needed for expenses, then the surplus was distributed among the poor or presented to charitable institutions.

Such was Anáhuac, and such her people, at the date of the Spanish conquest. Within less than two centuries, the dominion of the Aztecs had been gradually extended from the spot where they had sought refuge amid the marshes of Lake Tezcuco, until it included all the territory in the modern states of Mexico, Puebla, and San Luis Potosí, together with portions of Tamaulipas, Querétaro, Vera Cruz, Guerrero, western Oajaca, and Chiapas. South of Chiapas, they had pushed forward into Guatemala, and perhaps even into Nicaragua; but in neither of these countries had they obtained any permanent foothold. During the reign of Montezuma II., his armies had been constantly engaged in extending the limits of Aztec dominion and in quelling insurrections. New provinces had been subjugated; but his dominion had, as a whole, been sensibly weakened, for each conquered province created additional enemies to the conquerors, who, impatient of their grievous yoke, only awaited an opportunity for revenge and for regaining their former liberty. It was this inherent weakness that

alone rendered possible the conquest by a mere handful of European soldiers, leagued with revolted tribes, of the warlike hosts of Montezuma; for now, most suddenly and unexpectedly, the empire of the great Nahua monarch was to be brought face to face with the empire of Charles I. of Spain.

Since the days when, as tradition tells us, Quetzalcoatl had promised to return from his mysterious kingdom in "the land of the rising sun," and restore to the people of Cholula the golden age, many cycles had elapsed. Meanwhile, the Aztecs had become the greatest and strongest nation of the New World, as were the Spaniards of the old. But to the former there was no Old World. With an empire extending from the Pacific Ocean to the gulf of Mexico, beyond these shores they could not cast their gaze; they could not cast their thoughts, save that, from an unknown realm beyond the waters toward the east would come the beneficent god, the god of the air, the sun, and the rain.

In the year 1518, the last great sacrifice of human beings ever slaughtered in honor of Mexican idols was being offered up at the dedication of the temple of Coatlan. Almost before the groans of the expiring victims had died away, there came to the ears of the Aztec sovereign the startling tidings that bearded white men, strangely clad and armored, had landed on the coast of his own empire. They had come from the east in large canoes, borne over the waters with broad white wings, and the deafening roar and destructive force of their weapons closely resembled the thunder-laden clouds of air. Surely these strangers could be no other than Quetzalcoatl and his descendants, whose advent many generations had awaited in vain.

Long and anxiously the confederate kings of Anáhuac debated in council on the mysterious visitation; but at length all came to the conclusion that the leader of this mighty expedition had come back from his kingdom beyond the seas to restore to them the blessings of the golden age. Filled with dread, and sorely smitten in conscience, Montezuma was prepared at

once to surrender his dominion, and sending five of his chief nobles, with costly presents for the supposed deity, tendered his homage and congratulated him on his safe return. He was soon to learn that the purpose of these strangers' visit was by no means to restore to his people the blessings of the golden age.

Montezuma II. was in his thirty-fourth year when he was elected monarch in preference to his elder brother. The reasons for his appointment were his soldierly qualities, which had been tested on many a field of battle, while as a statesman his words, uttered in clear, dignified tones, had been heard in council with respect, and as high-priest his gravity and circumspection had won favor among the community. His figure and presence befitted a monarch; he was well versed in the lore of the Aztecs, and on occasion preserved the taciturnity which often passes for wisdom. But though learned and talented, he was crafty and unscrupulous. He had promised to retain in office the merchants appointed by his predecessor to high position in the realm; but no sooner had he grasped the sceptre than he threw off the mask and dismissed every member of that calling, filling the vacancies from the ranks of the nobles. In war and diplomacy he was very successful, and raised himself to the highest pinnacle of greatness ever attained by a Nahua monarch, being styled by his subjects the Emperor of the World. Notwithstanding his abilities and accomplishments, he was extremely superstitious, trusting less to common sense than to diviners and astrologers. Men, whom he knew, he feared not; but the gods, whom he did not know, he feared exceedingly. His extravagance exceeded all bounds; his incessant wars were expensive, and to meet this outlay, excessive taxation was necessary, the weight of the burden falling on recently conquered provinces, which were also required to furnish most of the human victims for sacrifice. Though a great man, he was not a good man; and while by no means wanting in physical courage, he lacked the higher quality which is termed moral courage.

PART II.—THE SPANISH CONQUEST.

CHAPTER XIV.

OUTLINE OF SPANISH HISTORY.

Before relating the story of the Spanish conquest, it may be well to refer briefly to the history of Spain, and to the position which she occupied among the nations of the earth at the opening of the sixteenth century.

Far back as tradition relates, the Spaniards, or, as they were then termed, Iberians, followed their rude vocations of hunting, fishing, and fighting, guarded on the north by the Pyrenees Mountains and on other sides by the sea. Then, in an epoch the dates of which cannot be determined, the Celts invaded Spain, and the race formed by the union of Celt and Iberian first became known to the civilized world under the name of Celtiberian. After them came the Phœnicians, who established a colony on the site of the modern Cádiz, and the Carthaginians, who founded Nova Cartago, now Carthagena, the power of the latter being broken by the Romans toward the end of the third century before the Christian era, though the traces which they have left are still to be found in the population and language of Spain. After driving out the Carthaginians, the Romans fought the Celtiberians long and fiercely; but the latter being finally subjugated, nearly all their territory was divided into Roman provinces, and among them was established the language and institutions of their conquerors. Hence, the Spanish tongue, as spoken to-day, like that of Italy, France, and other countries formerly subject to Rome, is mainly of Latin derivation.

The fifth century of the Christian era opens with the disso-

lution of the empire of the Romans, for the barbarians were now upon them. Over the Pyrenees swept, like a deluge, the Vandals, the Suevi, and other barbarous tribes from northern and central Europe. Blighted by this terrible disaster, civilization drooped, and the arts and sciences introduced by the Romans fell into disuse. The churlish invaders would have none of them, and the culture of ancient Greece and Rome fled from the inhospitable west and took refuge in Constantinople, the capital of the eastern empire, which thenceforth harbored the wrecks of classic learning. In their distress, the people of Hispania, as it was termed in the Latin tongue, now called to their aid the Visigoths, who, between the years 455 and 584, conquered the Suevi and the remants of the Roman legions.

After some two centuries of strife between the kings and nobles of Spain, the Saracens, landing in the year 711, at the invitation of Count Julian, commander of Andalusia, routed the Visigoths, and in five short years became masters of the entire territory except the mountainous region toward the north-west. Later the conquerors made their headquarters at Córdova, where in 755 a caliphate was established, those who held that office being the acknowledged successors of Mahomet. The fairest portions of the peninsula now formed one of the four great divisions of the prophet's dominions, and Moorish kings reigned in Córdova until 1238, while in Granada they held sway until 1492.

Meanwhile the Spaniards, under one of their national heroes, named Pelayo, had taken refuge in the mountains of Asturias, where in 716 they founded a small kingdom which they named Oviedo. Here the seeds of liberty took root, and from this band of patriots sprang a nation that spread its branches far and wide over the land. Gradually the domain of the Christians was enlarged. First Galicia, and 200 years later Leon and Castile, were added to their empire. Toward the close of the tenth century, the two latter kingdoms, together with that of Navarre, included the northern portion of Spain, while the remainder still belonged to the caliphate of Córdova,

And now from the mountain fastnesses, whither they had fled, the sturdy hosts of the Christians pressed heavily on the foe. Step by step they fought their way from the Pyrenees toward Granada, until, at the opening of the eleventh century, we find them occupying about one half of the peninsula, their territory being divided into the kingdoms of Leon, Castile, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal. Leon was but another name for Oviedo or Asturias, the birthplace of Spanish nationality; while Castile, so called from the *castillos* or forts built therein, though destined eventually to absorb all the rest, was originally a republic, consisting of a few small fortified towns united for mutual protection.

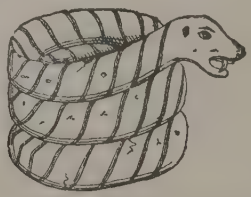
Finally, the four kingdoms of the north, united with Portugal, formed a league against the infidels, and in a great battle fought near Tolosa in 1212, the Mahometan power in Spain was effectually broken. In this decisive engagement the Christian confederates were commanded by Alfonso III. of Castile, who never rested until the followers of the prophet were driven from the central plateau of Spain.

A succession of brilliant events, culminating in the empire of Charles V., had, at the opening of the sixteenth century, exalted Spain to the foremost rank among European powers. The marriage of Ferdinand and Isabella, which in 1479 united the crowns of Aragon and Castile; the conquest of Granada in 1492, terminating eight centuries of almost continuous warfare; the discovery of America during the same year; the annexation of Naples in 1503 and of Navarre in 1512, after the union of Spain with the Netherlands;—all these important events, following in quick succession, formed a train of incidents almost without a parallel in the history of nations.

During the reign of Philip II., which came to an end in 1598, the empire of Spain was extended to every quarter of the globe, including the richest portions of the two American continents, which alone comprised about one fifth of the surface of the earth. But the most brilliant achievements of the Spaniards occurred during the reign of Ferdinand and Isa-

bella, as did those of the Germans under Charles V. and of the English under Elizabeth.

To those who are not familiar with the annals of Spain this brief outline of Spanish history may explain how it came to pass that, at the time of the conquest of Mexico, the Spaniards, from being a semi-barbarous people, far less civilized than were the Aztecs, had developed into a power which now ranked foremost among the nations of the world.

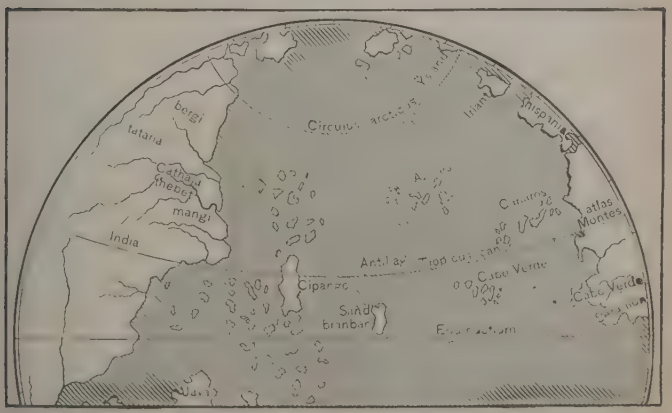


SERPENT CUP, SANTA CATALINA.

CHAPTER XV.

EARLY DISCOVERIES AND CONQUESTS.

UNTIL the year 1492, nothing was known of the American continents and their adjacent islands. To the obscure allusions of Aristotle, Plato, and Seneca to a country hidden beyond the western ocean, discovery had added nothing for more than 2,000 years, and it was not until the early part of the fifteenth century that the existence even of the Canary Islands, Madeira, and the Azores was known to the world That there were lands west of the Azores was, however, suspected, for to their western shores had drifted strange plants and trunks of trees. This, however, was merely conjecture, and so remained until



MARTIN BEHAIM'S GLOBE, 1492.

near the close of the fifteenth century. Up to this time it was the general belief that the surface of the earth was flat, and that between Europe and Asia there lay no other continent.

In 1435 or 1436, the exact date being uncertain, was born in Genoa, of humble parentage, a boy to whom his father, a woolcomber by occupation, gave the name of Christopher Colombo, or, as in English, Columbus. Permitted to make choice of his calling when fifteen years of age, he selected that of a sailor. He was a studious youth, and mastering all the sciences that would aid him in his profession, became in early manhood a skilful navigator.

Arriving at Lisbon in the year 1470, after suffering shipwreck during a sea-fight off Cape St. Vincent, he married the daughter of a captain in the navy, who, having served under Prince Henry of Spain, was appointed governor of the island of Porto Santo. Here, on the decease of his father-in-law, Columbus took up his abode, and made charts for a livelihood, discoursing at times with seamen of their voyages, and of the mysteries of the western ocean. He arrived at the conclusion that much of the earth was still undiscovered, believed it to be round, and gradually conceived the design of reaching the shores of Asia by sailing westward, little dreaming that between it and Europe lay two vast and undiscovered continents.

At this period the world was filled with rumors, which now began to take form and substance, concerning an unknown and mysterious country beyond the Atlantic Ocean, or as it was then called, the North Sea. Four hundred miles west of Cape St. Vincent, a Portuguese pilot had found a piece of wood curiously carved. Near Porto Santo his brother-in-law had picked up a waif, composed of canes, each of them large enough to support a vessel containing a gallon of wine, and had heard of two men being washed ashore, "very broad faced, and differing in aspect from Christians."

After many disappointments, some of those to whom he applied for aid regarding Columbus as little better than a lunatic, Queen Isabella, soon after the surrender of Granada, promised to advance the necessary funds. With the aid of two brothers, named Pinzon, an expedition was fitted out, and on the 3d of August, 1492, it set sail from the port of Palos.

With the story of the voyage of Columbus all the world is familiar: how, by sailing constantly westward, he reached an island to which he gave the name of San Salvador; how he afterward established a colony at Española, which on his return he found dispersed; how, toward the end of the voyage, his crew mutinied, believing that, instead of sailing toward a new world, they were sailing toward destruction; how at

JUAN DE LA COSA'S MAP, 1500.

length land was descried when hope was wellnigh lost; — all these matters, and the incidents connected therewith, have been a thousand times related. Of his subsequent voyages and discoveries merely incidental mention is required, as they have little bearing on the subject-matter of this book.

During the first quarter of a century after the landing of

Columbus at San Salvador, 3,000 miles of the mainland coast was examined in the hope of finding a western passage to Asia. At the close of this period, in 1517, the first Spanish

MAP BY JOHANN RUYSCH, 1508.

vessel that had ever visited the shores of Mexico cast anchor off the coral reefs of Yucatan. Though Columbus had heard of this country in 1502, and Pinzon had sighted its coast in 1506, for reasons that need not be explained, neither of these navigators had sailed toward this portion of the New World.

The island of Cuba, or Juana, as it was first named, where Columbus had touched during his first voyage, was colonized in 1511, and a few years later its governor, Diego Velazquez, aided in fitting out expeditions for exploration and conquest in other directions. Meanwhile, the Pacific Ocean had been discovered by Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, and Spanish settlements had been formed on several of the islands in the West Indies, and on the mainland from Panamá northward to Honduras.

The first expedition fitted out in Cuba was placed in charge

of Francisco Hernandez de Córdoba, and consisted of 110 soldiers, in three small vessels, in charge of the pilot Antonio de Alaminos. "Down from Cuba Island, in this sea of the west," said the latter, "my heart tells me there must be rich lands; because when I sailed as a boy with the old admiral, I remember he inclined that way."

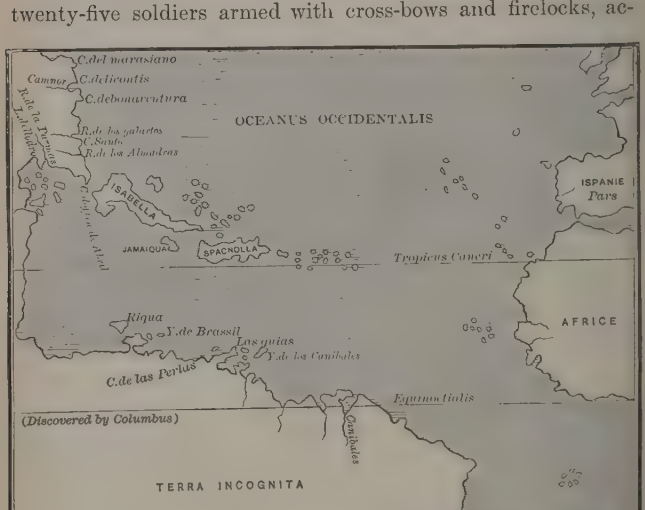
Sailing toward the north, and touching on their way at an

PETER MARTYR'S MAP, 1511.

island where were found people dressed in white and colored cotton, and wearing ornaments of gold, silver, and feathers, on the 3d of March, 1517, they again sighted land. While looking for an anchorage, five canoes approached the commander's vessel, and thirty men stepped fearlessly on board, to whom the Spaniards gave presents of bread and bacon, and to each a necklace of glass beads. After closely scrutinizing the ship, the natives put off to shore; but early on the following day the cacique, or chieftain, appeared with twelve canoes and a large number of followers. Making signs of friendship, he cried out, "*Conex cotoch!*" that is to say, "Come to our houses;"

whence the place was called Punta de Catoche, or Point Catoche, which name it bears to this day.

Thus invited, Córdoba, with several of his officers and twenty-five soldiers armed with cross-bows and firelocks, ac-



MAP FROM PTOLEMY, 1513.

companied the natives to shore, when the cacique, conducting them as he pretended toward his palace, led them into an ambush. The natives fought with flint-edged, wooden swords, lances, bows, and slings, and were protected by shields and thick coats of quilted cotton. They charged the Spaniards bravely, with shouts and noise of instruments, and several of the latter were wounded, two of them fatally. At length, however, they were forced to give way before the fire-arms and steel

weapons of the enemy, leaving fifteen of their number dead, while two youths were captured, and after being baptized under the names of Julian and Melchor, were employed by the Spaniards as interpreters.

Re-embarking and sailing westward, they arrived a fortnight later at the town of Campeche. Here, while they gazed in wonder at its beautiful edifices, a priest ran forth from one of the temples carrying a bundle of reeds, and setting fire to it, indicated by signs that, unless they departed before it was

YUCATAN.

consumed, all of them would be put to death. Still sore with the wounds received at Catoche, the Spaniards were in no mood to fight; and coasting along the western shore of Yucatan, they anchored off a village, now called Champoton, in order to obtain water and provisions.

Here occurred a desperate conflict with the natives, who did not shrink from fighting hand to hand with the foe. Fifty-seven of the Spaniards were killed on the spot, two were carried off alive, and five died on board the ships. Those whom

the natives could not kill they followed to the shore, and even into the sea, laying hold of their boats and trying to drag the fugitives into the water. After suffering many hardships, the survivors finally reached Cuba, where a few days afterward Hernandez de Córdoba died of his wounds.

Greatly interested in this discovery, notwithstanding the disasters which attended it, Velazquez closely questioned the captives as to their country, its gold, its buildings, and its native plants. When there was shown to them a root, called in Cuba the yucca, they assured the governor that they were familiar with it, but that their own name for it was *tale*. From these two words, according to Bernal Diaz, who was a member of the expedition, and some fifty years later wrote a history of the conquest of Mexico, comes the name Yucatan.

After holding conference with the captains who had survived the defeat at Champoton, and examining the articles obtained

CARAVEL.

from the natives, and the gold and images taken from one of the temples at Catoche, the governor resolved on a new expedition. Four caravels were fitted out, Alaminos being again appointed chief pilot, and as commander, a handsome and chivalrous young Spaniard, named Juan de Grijalva, nephew to Velazquez. There was no lack of volunteers, of whom 240

at once came forward, among them being several who afterward became famous. Grijalva, as commodore of the squadron, took charge of one of the vessels, and Pedro de Alvarado, Alonso Dávila, and Francisco de Montejo were chosen captains of the others.

Touching at the Island of Cozumel, the expedition rounded the northern coast of Yucatan and cast anchor off Champoton, where an affray occurred in which the natives were defeated, though with severe loss to the Spaniards. Continuing his voyage along the coast, in June 1518, Grijalva entered the mouth of a river to which was given his own name, though called by the natives Tabasco, after a cacique of their tribe. Landing close to a grove of palm-trees, near their principal town, the invaders were met by 6,000 Indians, who at first showed signs of hostility, but by peaceful overtures were induced to furnish supplies of food in exchange for beads and trinkets. During an interview which followed, the interpreters Melchor and Julian being present, the Spaniards ascertained that in a country toward the north-west, called Culhua, that is to say, Mexico, there was gold in abundance. This was probably the first intimation received by the Spaniards of the existence of the Nahua domain.

Returning to their ships, the following day Grijalva received a visit from the cacique, who brought presents of roasted fish, fowl, maize bread, fruit, feather-work, and gold, receiving in return a pair of red shoes, and a coat and cap of crimson velvet.

Voyaging a few leagues farther toward the west, the Spaniards sighted the snow-clad mountains of New Spain, as Mexico was called for many years after the conquest. A few days later they came to a stream which they named the Rio de Banderas, or river of banners, so called because the natives appeared in large numbers, carrying white flags on their lances, with which they beckoned the strangers to land. Thereupon twenty soldiers were sent ashore under Montejo, and a favorable reception being accorded them, they were followed by the

commander in person. The utmost deference was paid to the guests; for Montezuma, having already heard of the strange visitors on his eastern seaboard, had ordered them to be hospitably entertained. As yet he probably believed them to be the descendants of Quetzalcoatl, who had returned from their mysterious realm beyond the sea to restore to Anáhuac the golden age. In the cool shade was spread, on embroidered mats, a tempting repast, while fumes of burning incense consecrated the spot and made redolent the air. Learning what the Spaniards loved best, the governor of the province, named Pinotl, who acted the part of host, sent forth messengers, and gathered for his visitors gold to the value of 15,000 crowns.

After a stay of six days the flotilla set sail, and touching at several points, among them being the Isla de Sacrificios, or isle of sacrifices, where were temples containing the remains of human victims, the Spaniards crossed to the mainland, and thence to an adjacent island. Here they landed, and built huts upon the sand. Of an Indian, baptized Francisco, Grijalva asked the significance of this detestable rite. Because, he replied, the people of Culhua, or Ulúa, as he pronounced the word, would have it so. Hence, the name of the commander being Juan, and the feast of John the Baptist being near at hand, the island was named San Juan de Ulúa.

Prompted by zeal in his master's service, Pinotl had prostrated himself before the Spanish commander and his captains as before kings or gods, the beads and trinkets given in return for his gold being esteemed as priceless gifts from supernatural beings. When he explained as best he could the majesty and wealth of his sovereign, Grijalva promised to return erelong and visit the great city of the Aztecs. Bearing with them, as they had been instructed, paintings on maguey paper of the vessels, sailors, soldiers, arms, dress, and accoutrements of the Spaniards, Pinotl and the chief men of the province set forth to report these events to the emperor.

Entering the imperial presence, they fell prostrate to the ground, declaring themselves worthy of death for having

ventured unbidden before their lord; but their mission permitted no delay. "For oh! most dread sovereign," they exclaimed, "we have seen gods! All of us here present have seen their water-houses on our shores. We have talked with them, and eaten with them, and have handled them with our hands; we have given them gifts, and have received in return these priceless treasures." Then they displayed their beads and trinkets.

Montezuma sat mutely regarding the messengers, concerned most of all lest vassals should witness his dismay. A council was summoned and after sage consultation, it was decided that the commander of the Spaniards could be none other than the fair-hued god, who, according to his promise, had returned to resume the throne. Resistance was therefore useless, and it remained only to conciliate him with gifts. The chiefs were sent back, with orders to the governors of the coast districts to report any further arrival of strangers, or occurrence of strange events. Following them was an embassy bearing rich presents, with instructions to bid the god welcome in the name of the emperor and his court. Well had it been if Juan de Grijalva had received these presents, and, returning messages of peace and good-will, had paved the way, as doubtless he would have attempted, for a bloodless conquest. But the embassy arrived too late. Grijalva had gone.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE HERO OF THE CONQUEST.

In a village named Medellin, in the Spanish province of Estremadura, was born in 1485 the hero of the Spanish conquest of Mexico, by name Hernan Cortés. He was a sickly child, and but for the care of his nurse would never perhaps have lived to set foot on the shores of the New World. In youth he was headstrong, self-willed, courageous, and keenly sensitive to disgrace. At the age of fourteen his parents selected for him the profession of the law, and with such preparation as the slender means of his father would allow, he was sent to the university of Salamanca, which, though past the zenith of its fame, was still considered the principal seat of learning by the wealthier classes of Spain. But Hernan had little inclination for intellectual toil, or in truth for toil of any kind, if he could live without it, and after two years of scholastic restraint, during which he acquired a smattering of Latin and rhetoric, he returned to his native village, greatly to the disgust of his parents.

When nineteen years of age, the youth, inspired by the marvellous stories of adventurers who had returned with gold and fame from the Indies, set sail for Española, carrying with him little else than his father's blessing. On his arrival he was courteously received by the governor's secretary, who pointed out to him the common road to fortune. "Register yourself a citizen," he said, "promise not to leave the island for five years, and you shall have lands and Indians; after the expiration of your time you may go where you choose." "I want gold, not work," replied Cortés; "and neither in this island nor in any other place will I promise to remain so long." He changed his mind, however, and a revolt soon afterward occurring among the natives, joined an expedition

in charge of Diego Velazquez, afterward appointed governor, and by his courage and ability won the esteem of his comrades.

Proud in bearing, high-spirited, and of quick perception, there were in his character many noble traits, chief among them being that of generosity. By men of the present day he is branded with cruelty, but he should be judged rather from the standard of his own age; and compared with others of the New World conquerors, he appears at an advantage. His natural tendencies were not in the main toward evil, and his vices were more those of his time and station than inherent in the man. Yet he lacked the moral fibre which should be interwoven with a generous and sensitive nature, and this want could not be atoned for by the repetition of prayers, and singing of psalms, in both of which exercises, if we can believe his biographers, he was remarkably proficient.

In 1518 we find Cortés, after many adventures, holding the position of alcalde or magistrate at the town of Santiago de Cuba. He was still in the prime of manhood, of medium stature, well proportioned and muscular, with broad shoulders, spare, campact frame, and powerful limbs. His portraits display regular features, tinged somewhat with melancholy, an expression which was increased by the grave look of his dark oval eye. A thin brown beard, cut close, relieved somewhat the natural pallor of his face, and served to cover a deep scar on the lower lip, caused by a duel fought in his younger days.

Long before the return of Grijalva, who was delayed by further explorations, the news of his discovery was reported in Cuba. The first vessel to arrive was that of Alvarado, who, together with Dávila and Montejo, severely criticised the conduct of his commander, accusing him, though most unfairly, of cowardice and misconduct. So malignant were the accusations brought against this deserving officer, that Velazquez was heard to mutter: "Had I lost all, it would have been a just penalty for sending such a fool." Thus, when his nephew

reported himself to Santiago, he was told to go his way, as the governor had no further use for him.

But Alvarado had brought back with him more than 20,000 crowns in treasure, and tidings of a land where the Spaniards could obtain gold to their hearts' content. The people of Cuba were soon in a whirl of excitement, and volunteers pressed forward by the hundred to join a fresh expedition, now being fitted out for Mexico. After some hesitation, the command was given to Cortés, to whom were delivered, by Velazquez and the friars of Española, instructions that were in amusing contrast with the sequel. He must conduct himself as a christian soldier; he must prohibit blasphemy among the men, and on no account molest the natives, but gently inform them of the glory of God and of the Catholic king. Notwithstanding this outward show of piety, neither the governor nor the priests believed that these instructions would in the least interfere with his movements. They were given merely for effect, and in the hope of shielding Velazquez, who expected to receive the lion's share of the spoils, from the anger of his sovereign.

No sooner was his commission sealed than Cortés began to prepare for the expedition. Quickly expending his few thousand crowns of ready money, he mortgaged his estates, and borrowed to the uttermost from his friends. He then threw open his doors, and loading his table with choice viands and wines, drew to his side nearly all the available men in the island. There were many who sneered at his assumption, as he appeared in gay uniform, with plume and medal, with martial music and retinue, exclaiming: "Here is a lord without lands;" but they little knew the firmness and self-reliance of this Castilian adventurer, who having once assumed the task, would lay it down only with his life.

Before the departure of the expedition Velazquez repented of his choice, having now become jealous of Cortés, and suspicious as to his allegiance; but the stronger his suspicions, the firmer became the determination of the latter to

prosecute an adventure in which he had risked his all. Warned by friends of his danger, he hurried forward his preparations, at the same time giving orders for all to be in readiness to embark at a moment's notice. Finally, the hour having arrived, Cortés, with a few trusty adherents, presented himself before the governor, and politely took his leave. From the governor's house he hastened to the public meat depository, seized and added to his stores the town's supply for the ensuing week, and in payment gave to the keeper a gold chain, all that he had in the world apart form his interest in the venture.

BRONZE BELLS — CHRISTY COLLECTION.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE EXPEDITION.

On a dull, gray, winter morning, the 18th of November, 1518, the squadron, composed of six vessels, sailed out of the harbor of Santiago amid the cheers of the populace and the suppressed anathemas of the governor. Before reaching the island of Cozumel the number of ships had been increased to twelve, including the flag-ship of 100 tons, three others of sixty to eighty tons, the remainder being brigantines and open craft.

BRIGANTINE.

The soldiers numbered 508, and the sailors 109, including officers and pilots. Under Juan Benitez and Pedro de Guzman were thirty-two cross-bowmen, and thirteen only carried firelocks, the rest being armed with swords and spears. The artillery consisted of ten bronze guns and four falconets, 200 Cuban Indians being pressed into service as carriers. Sixteen of the Spaniards were mounted, and, as we shall see later, their horses played an important part in the approaching campaign. The supplies included 5,000 tocinos, or pieces of salt pork, and 6,000 loads of maize, yucca, vegetables, poultry,

groceries, and other provisions. For barter and presents there were beads, bells, mirrors, needles, ribbons, knives, hatchets, cotton goods, and many other articles.

The forces were divided into eleven companies, each under a captain having control on sea and land. Their names were Alonso Hernandez Puertocarrero, Alonso Dávila, Diego de Ordaz, Francisco de Montejo, Francisco de Morla, Escobar, Juan de Escalante, Juan Velazquez de Leon, Cristóbal de Olid,

NAVIO, OR SHIP.

Pedro de Alvarado, and Cortés, with Alaminos still chief pilot. The priests who accompanied the expedition were Juan Diaz and Bartolomé de Olmedo, of the order of Mercy.

Reviewing his troops before reaching the mainland, Cortés addressed them in words of fire. Pointing to nations unbaptized, he awakened their religious zeal; dwelling on the grandeur of the undertaking, he stimulated their ambition; referring to the vast wealth which these unknown lands contained, he stimulated their cupidity. They were setting out on a career of conquest in the name of their God, who had always befriended the Spaniards, and in the name of their emperor, for whom they would achieve more heroic deeds than

had yet been accomplished. Riches lay before them; but, like good and brave men, they must look with him to the higher and nobler reward of glory. "Nevertheless," he said, "be true to me, as I am to you, and erelong I will load you with wealth, such as you have never dreamed of."

During the voyage there was little worthy of note, except that at the Rio Tabasco a skirmish took place with the natives, in which the losses of the Spaniards almost equalled those of the Indians. On Thursday, in passion week of 1519, the squadron lay at anchor under the island of San Juan de Ulúa.

The ships had been watched from afar with eager eyes, and now, from the wondering multitude that thronged the shore, came two large canoes, from which there stepped on board the flag-ship men, who with reverential mien asked for the *tlatoani*, or white chief, saying that they were ordered by the cacique of the nearest town to welcome him, and to ask whither he came and why. To the embassy Cortés made friendly answer. He would explain his purpose to the cacique in person. Meanwhile the messengers, after being invited to a banquet, and receiving as gifts some worthless trinkets, were informed that presents of gold were regarded by the Spaniards as sure tokens of friendship. Then they returned to the shore, the appearance of which was not very inviting, with its broad reaches of sand and sandy hillocks, where now stands the city of Vera Cruz.

Early on good Friday Cortés landed, and planting his guns on one of the hillocks, began the construction of a fortified camp, placing in its centre a large cross. On easter Sunday the cacique arrived with a large retinue of attendants and a number of slaves, bearing presents. Cortés, with his escort, advanced to receive them, and after an interchange of courtesies led the way to the altar, where Father Olmedo celebrated mass. The service over, he invited them to dinner, and informed them that he was a captain of the greatest of earthly monarchs, Charles V. of Spain, who, hearing of Montezuma's

renown, had sent him presents and a message, which must be delivered to him in person and at once.

There is little doubt that Montezuma had already heard of the defeat of the Spaniards at Champoton, for the Aztec officers replied, somewhat haughtily, "Be it known to you that our master is inferior to none; and for the present let these gifts suffice." Thereupon at a given signal the slaves advanced and delivered their burdens, consisting of food, cotton fabrics, feather-work in brilliant colors, and a *cacaxtli*, or basket, filled with wrought gold, set with precious stones and pearls. Cortés expressed his thanks, and sent to Montezuma in return a few presents of no great value, among them being a bright red cap and a carved and inlaid arm-chair; and "would the emperor deign to wear the cap and occupy the chair when it became his pleasure to receive him?" The chieftain promised to deliver the gifts, and pointing to the gilt helmet of a soldier, which resembled the head-dress of Quetzalcoatl, asked permission to display it to his sovereign. "Take it," said Cortés, "and bring it back filled with gold-dust, that we may show our monarch what kind of metal your land contains." Meanwhile, orders had been given that all the wants of the Spaniards should be supplied, 2,000 natives being detailed to act as their servants.

Observing that some of the attendants were depicturing on maguey paper the appearance, dress, weapons, horses, and accoutrements of the Spaniards, Cortés mounted his steed, ordering his troops to fall into line and the cannon to be loaded. The infantry passed in review, with bands playing and banners unfurled. Then came the squadron of cavalry, led by Alvarado, dashing past in swift and varied evolutions. The movements of these animals, their rearing and prancing, their power and speed, the flashing swords, the glittering armor, all appeared to this simple people as the hosts of heaven. But admiration changed to terror when the guns belched forth flame and smoke, and cannon-balls tore up the beach or crashed among the trees.

When the picture-writings were delivered to Montezuma, and he was told that the dread strangers insisted on delivering to him in person the message of their king, terror filled his soul. A council was summoned, and though opinions were divided, it was finally resolved that the emperor should decline the interview, but not rudely, lest peradventure they might be gods. He would propitiate them with gifts, and beseech them to depart from the shores of Mexico. A noble was despatched to the coast, and with him a retinue and more than a hundred slaves, bearing costly presents. Bowing low before Cortés, the envoy touched the earth with his hand, carrying it to his lips, and then, in token of respect or reverence, swung the copal censer.

The slaves were then ordered to display the presents, among which were thirty bales of cotton fabrics, white, colored, plain, and figured, interwoven with feathers or embroidered with gold and silver threads. There were disks of gold and silver representing the sun and moon, ornamented in demi-relief and as large as a carriage wheel; there were ducks, dogs, monkeys, lions, and other animals, well fashioned in gold; there were ten golden collars and a necklace with more than a hundred pendant stones, which the Spaniards declared to be emeralds and rubies. Finally, there was the helmet returned full of virgin gold, fine dust and coarse, and in nuggets. "This," says the historian Torquemada, "cost Montezuma his life;" for its contents were a sure indication that there were rich mines in the realm of the Aztecs.

For the presents Cortés returned his thanks and some gifts of trifling value; but after so long a voyage, he declared, he could not face his master without having first beheld the great Montezuma. Ten days later, the governor of the province laid more treasures at the feet of the Spanish commander. Further messages to the emperor were useless, he said, for the desired interview could never be granted. He hoped that the Spaniards would now be content, and depart in peace. Turning to his comrades, Cortés remarked: "Truly, this must be a

great lord, and rich. God willing, some day we will visit him." At that instant the bell sounded for the ave María, and instantly, with uncovered head, the soldiers knelt around the cross, while one of the priests proclaimed the true faith in the hearing of the governor. His words made a bad impression, as did the message of Cortés. The governor bade them a cold farewell, and on the following day the supplies of provisions were removed, and the native encampment deserted.

The Spaniards were now threatened with famine; many of them were sick; the majority were in favor of returning to Cuba, especially the friends and relatives of Velazquez. But by placing some in irons, and appeasing others with gold, Cortés quelled the threatened mutiny, and was chosen by his men captain-general, with a command independent of Velazquez. A few days later he moved his camp to the present site of Vera Cruz; and messengers were sent to Spain, asking that his appointment be confirmed.

No sooner had the messengers departed than certain of the malecontents formed a plot to seize one of the vessels and escape to Cuba. It was betrayed, however, by one of the party on the eve of their intended embarkation. Cortés was profoundly moved; for although the ringleaders were severely punished, he foresaw that desertions might occur at any time, and thus would the purpose of his life be frustrated. Morn and eve, and all day long, disaffected men were plotting, and wistfully gazing at the ships.

There was but one remedy, and that was to destroy them. If this were done, each man would put forth his utmost effort, and even craven souls would be inspired at least with the courage of desparation. Then if Montezuma still refused to admit him peaceably, he would gather such a force of his enemies as would sweep his kingdom from the face of the earth. Already the Totonacs, in whose territory he was encamped, had thrown off their allegiance to the emperor, and other provinces only awaited an opportunity. Finally, if the ships were destroyed, the sailors, who would otherwise be

required to guard them, might be added to the force of combatants. Such were the arguments which the commander advanced to win the consent of his captains to one of the most daring and desperate acts ever achieved.

Not that the consent of the officers was necessary, for the deed once accomplished there would be only one course open to them. Nevertheless he preferred that they should participate in his scheme, rather than consider themselves unfairly dealt with. Thus it came to pass that a few days afterward, the masters of several of the largest vessels appeared before the captain-general with rueful countenances, and with the sad intelligence that their craft were unseaworthy. They omitted, however, to say that they had secretly bored holes in them according to instructions. Cortés was astonished,—nay, he was deeply affected; he was by nature an actor, and Roscius himself could not have played the part better. "Well," he said, "the will of God be done; but look you sharply to the other ships."

So well did the captains carry out their instructions that soon all were able to swear the vessels were unsafe, except three which might be made seaworthy by costly repairs. Soon it became apparent that they must be abandoned. "And indeed, fellow-soldiers," remarked Cortés, "I am not sure but it were best to doom to destruction also the others, and so secure the co-operation of the sailors in the coming campaign, instead of leaving them in idleness to hatch new treachery." This intimation was successful, as was intended. Sails, anchors, cables, and everything that could be utilized were removed, and on the following day a few small boats were all that was left of the Cuban flotilla. One vessel, however, remained, which had recently arrived from Cuba with a small re-enforcement under Francisco de Salcedo, better known among his comrades as "the dandy warrior."

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE CAMPAIGNS IN TLASCALA AND CHOLULA.

"To Mexico!" was now the cry, and it was resolved to begin immediately the march toward the capital. Leaving a small detachment in the neighborhood of Vera Cruz, Cortés set forth on the 16th of August, 1519, with 450 Spaniards, and six or seven guns, accompanied by a large number of Indian warriors and carriers. The Totonac force included forty chieftains, who were in reality hostages, among them being one who proved a most able and trustworthy guide and counsellor. By their advice, the captain-general adopted the route through Tlascala, as the Tlascaltecs were bitter enemies of the Mexicans. On the fourth day came in sight of the city of Xocotlan, on the plateau of Anáhuac. The cacique with his suite came forth to meet the strangers and conducted them through the plaza to their quarters, near which were the houses occupied by himself and the 2,000 servants who attended to his wants, and those of his thirty wives.

Impressed by this magnificence, Cortés inquired whether he was a subject or an ally of Montezuma. "Who is not his slave?" was the reply. He himself ruled over 20,000 subjects, and yet was but a lowly vassal of the emperor, at whose command thirty chieftains could place each 100,000 warriors in the field. "But we," says Bernal Diaz, who accompanied the expedition, wished we were already at the capital, striving for fortunes, despite the dangers described."

From Xocotlan, four Totonac chieftains were sent forward to ask permission of the Tlascaltecs to pass through their boundaries. Appearing before the senate at Tlascala, the messengers informed them of the arrival of powerful gods from the east, who, though few in number, were more than equal to a host. Then they depicted their appearance, their

swift and powerful steeds, their savage dogs, and their terrible weapons, saying, in conclusion, that they had already delivered the Totonacs from the tyranny of Montezuma, and now desired, on their way to Mexico, to offer the Tlascaltecs their friendship and alliance. After some deliberation, it was decided to adopt a middle course. The Otomí frontier settlers, who were thoroughly devoted to the Tlascaltecs, were to be encouraged to attack the invaders, under command of the aged chieftain Xicotencatl. If successful, the latter would claim the glory; if not, they would grant the victors the permission which they desired, while casting the blame for the assault on the Otomís.

After advancing a few leagues into the territory of the Tlascaltecs, the Spaniards were met by a body of more than 1,000 warriors, to whom Cortés sent three prisoners, captured during a previous skirmish, with assurances of his friendly intentions. The only reply was a shower of arrows, darts, and stones, whereupon Cortés, giving the battle-cry of "Santiago and at them!" ordered his men to charge. The enemy retreated with their faces toward the pursuers, enticing them into a pass, formed of broken ground, where they were surrounded by a large force, placed in ambuscade and bearing the red and white banners of Xicotencatl. Missiles were now hurled upon them, while on every side bold warriors, with swords, clubs, and double-pointed spears, pressed close around. Many were the hearts that quaked, and many believed that their last moment had arrived, for the Spaniards were in greater peril than ever before. But the commander rode along the line, cheering his men, and giving orders to press onward and keep well together.

The pass was of no great length, and soon the invaders emerged into an open plain, but only to find themselves confronted by the main body of the enemy, mustering more than 30,000 warriors. How long was this to continue, each new host being tenfold greater than the last? Yet once more the Spaniards took courage, and prepared for instant attack. The cavalry charged with loose reins and lances poised, so as to

strike at the heads of the foe, thus spreading confusion through their dense ranks, and opening a path for the infantry. It is related that a body of natives, determined to slay one of the horses, surrounded a man named Pedro de Moron, who was mounted on a racing steed, dragged him from his saddle, and thrust their swords and spears through the animal. In the struggle which ensued ten Spaniards were wounded, and four of the native chiefs were slain. Moron was rescued, but only to die soon afterward of his wounds, while his steed was cut into pieces, which were sent all over the country, to be used in triumphal celebrations. This loss was greatly regretted, as it would allay the terror caused by the horses of the Spaniards, hitherto deemed invulnerable, those which had previously been slain having been buried in secret.

The battle was continued for several hours, but the Indians were unable to make any further impression on the Spanish forces, while their own ranks were being rapidly thinned by the charges of cavalry and the volleys of artillery and firelocks. The slaughter had been very heavy among the chiefs, and this was the main reason for the retreat which Xicotencatl now commanded, his troops retiring in good order and with no symptoms of panic. Their exact loss could not be ascertained, for with humane devotion the wounded and dead were carried away as soon as they were stricken, and in this constant and self-sacrificing effort they lost many advantages.

Cortés attempted no pursuit; but hastening to a town situated on a neighboring hill, fortified himself on its temple pyramid, where he and his allies celebrated their victory with feasting, song, and dance. On the following day, he sallied forth with the horsemen, 100 infantry, and 700 Totonecs, partly for the purpose of foraging, and also to show the enemy that his men were prepared to renew the conflict. He returned with 400 captives, whom he treated kindly, and with fifteen others, taken during the battle, despatched to the camp of Xicotencatl with friendly messages. The cacique replied that peace would be celebrated at his father's town with a feast on the Spaniards'

flesh, while their hearts would be offered up to the gods. He would give them a more decisive answer on the morrow. With this threat came the report that a Tlascalan army was preparing to march against them.

Early on the morning of the 5th of September, the Indian array could be seen extending far over the plain, terrible in war-paint, plumed helmets, and gaudy shields, with their swords and lances gleaming in the sun, while the air resounded with yells, mingled with the melancholy notes of drums and the doleful blasts of conches and trumpets. It was the largest and best equipped army yet encountered by the Spaniards, numbering, according to the lowest estimate, 50,000 men, in four divisions, each distinguished by its own banner and colors.

The Indians advanced in dense columns up the sides of the hill, and despite all resistance, pressed onward into the very camp of the Spaniards, but were soon obliged to yield before their keen blades and murderous bullets. Cortés waited until the foe became tired and discouraged by repeated efforts, and then, with a ringing cry of "Santiago!" rushed forward and drove them in confusion to the plain, where the cavalry followed up the advantage, cutting down the fugitives in all directions. Rallying on their reserves, however, the enemy turned with renewed courage on their pursuers. The shock was overwhelming; the wearied Spaniards gave way; their ranks were broken, and all seemed lost. Even Cortés was for a moment dismayed,—but only for a moment. Leading his handful of horsemen to the rescue, he raised his voice above the din of battle and called on his men to follow. They responded nobly, and nerved by his words and deeds, plied lustily their swords, driving back the Indians and forming line anew. The victory might yet, however, have turned in favor of the latter, but for a quarrel between Xicotencatl and one of the chief captains, who withdrew his troops and persuaded the commander of another division to follow him. Thus left with only two divisions, and those shattered and discouraged, the Tlascalan commander was forced to retreat, though in excel-

lent order, and carrying with him his dead and wounded, while of the Spaniards at least sixty were seriously hurt, of whom several died soon afterward.

Once more Cortés sent to the Tlascalans overtures for peace; and now his offers were favorably received, for whether gods or men, the strangers were apparently invincible. Ambassadors despatched with provisions and gifts bowed low before the conqueror, expressed the contrition of their chieftains, and humbly sued for peace. With a grave reproval for their obstinacy, the apology was accepted and the envoys dismissed. A final effort, however, was made by Xicotencatl, who proposed to attack the Spaniards by night; but his purpose being discovered, the cacique was himself attacked under cover of darkness, and his forces routed.

Great was the alarm caused in Mexico through reports of the victories obtained by this insignificant band of foreigners over the veteran troops of Tlascala, which had defied the combined armies of the allied kings of Anáhuac. Again a council was summoned, and again it was resolved that, if possible, the strangers should be appeased with gifts, and asked to depart from their shores. Six of the most prominent nobles were sent to their camp to congratulate the white chieftain on his victories, and to offer annual tribute in gold, silver, jewels, and cloth,—to do, in fact, almost anything that their king might desire, provided they would advance no farther toward the capital. The envoys entered the presence of Cortés, followed by 200 attendants, and laying before him 100,000 castellanos in gold-dust, with twenty bales of rich feathers and embroidered cloth, delivered their message. The captain-general expressed his thanks, accepted the presents, and said that he would consider the matter.

While entertaining the Mexican envoys, the Spanish camp was startled by the announcement that a Tlascalan embassy was approaching, fifty in number, at the head of whom was Xicotencatl in person. With pride subdued, he who but for the defection in his ranks would probably have been the conqueror

of the Spaniards now came as their suppliant, and offered the best amends in his power, by personally humbling himself before the white chieftain, who had torn from his brow the wreath of victory. Approaching Cortés with profound salute, while over the cacique his attendants swung the copal censer, he declared that, in the name of the lords of Tlascala, he had come to offer submission to the greatest of men, so gentle and yet so valiant. He frankly took upon himself the blame for the resistance offered to the invincible captain, but pleaded the Tlascalan love of liberty, threatened as he supposed by an ally of Montezuma; for were there not Mexican allies in the Spanish camp? and had not the Aztec monarch exchanged with them friendly intercourse? Cortés administered a slight rebuke, but since the Tlascaltecs had already suffered severely, he freely pardoned them, and in the name of his sovereign received them as allies. He hoped the peace would be permanent, for if not, he would be compelled to destroy their capital and its inhabitants.

Xicotencatl assured him that his people would thenceforth be as faithful as before they had been loyal to themselves. He begged Cortés to visit his city, where the lords and nobles awaited him, and regretted that he could offer no present worthy of acceptance. All that his people once possessed had been surrendered to the Mexicans, and now they were poor in treasure. Mass was then said, and the Spaniards and their allies concluded the day with festivities and demonstrations of delight. Meanwhile the Mexican envoys were not a little chagrined at the conclusion of a peace which foreboded evil to their nation. They ridiculed the entire proceeding as a ruse on the part of the Tlascaltecs, who they said were too treacherous to be trusted, and once they had the Spaniards within the walls of their city, would avenge on them the defeats which still rankled in their hearts. Cortés replied that the Spaniards could not be overcome in town or field, by day or night. He would accept the invitation to Tlascala, and if its inhabitants proved treacherous, they would be destroyed.

Thereupon the envoys begged him to remain in camp for a few days, while they sent word to the emperor. The request was granted; but the only result appears to have been that the ambassadors were sent back with further presents, and with instructions to prevent the Spaniards from proceeding either to Tlascala or to Mexico. Cortés again accepted the presents, but held out no hope that he would change his determination to advance.

The Spaniards entered the city of Tlascala on the twenty-third of September, thenceforth set apart as a feast-day among its people. The road, about six leagues in length, passed through a hilly but well-cultivated region, skirted on the east by a snow-crowned peak, while in every direction were verdure-clad slopes, spotted with clusters of oak, above and beyond which were dark green fringes of fir, that seemed to rise, like bulwarks, around the settlements in the valley.

When a quarter of a league distant from the capital, the Spaniards were met by the lords and nobles, accompanied by an immense retinue. Women of rank came forward with flowers in garlands and bouquets, and priests marched in long procession, swinging their censers, while around them surged a crowd estimated at 100,000 persons. Through streets adorned with festoons and arches, and past houses covered with cheering multitudes, they proceeded to the palace of Xicotencatl, who, as was customary on such occasions, came forward to invite them to a banquet. Cortés saluted him with the respect due to his age, and was conducted to the banquet hall. The feasting ended, appartments were assigned for his men in the courts and buildings surrounding the temple, couches of matting and maguey cloth being spread for them, while close at hand were the quarters of the allies and the Mexican envoys.

Strict discipline was maintained among the troops; and so well pleased were the Tlascaltec nobles with their conduct that they urged the Spaniards to remain with them, giving to the captains their daughters for wives, and offering lands and

houses for the entire party. But Cortés was resolved on reaching Mexico, the more so as he had now received an invitation from Montezuma, who, fearing that the dreaded visit could not be prevented, had decided at least to hasten his departure from Tlascala.

After remaining for three weeks beneath the hospitable roofs of Tlascala, the Spaniards set forth for the capital, escorted by an immense throng of warriors, all of whom would gladly have joined him in his quest for wealth and glory among the hated Mexicans. Cortés had no desire, however, thus to trammel his movements, and only 5,000 of the Indians were permitted to accompany him.

The route selected was by way of Cholula, mainly through the advice of the Mexican envoys, though sorely against the will of the Tlascaltecs, who declared it to be the very hatching-ground for the emperor's plots. The road to it, they said, and every house therein, was full of snares and pitfalls. An Aztec army would surely be concealed within the city, and from its temple-pyramid could be let loose a mighty stream, which in a moment would inundate its streets. But to show the least symptom of timidty would be fatal to the cause of the Spaniards, and to their leader the sensation of fear was unknown.

Cholula was one of the most ancient cities of Anáhuac, with traditions reaching back to the earliest records of the Nahuas. Here Quetzalcoatl, as ruler and prophet, had left the final impress of the golden age, and here a grateful people had raised to him the grandest of their many temples, while 400 towers with their gleaming decorations rose far above the surface of the vast surrounding plain, in which it is said "not a span of ground remained uncultivated." With its 200,000 inhabitants, its broad, regular streets, and neat, substantial buildings, interspersed with gardens and groves, Cholula ranked next in wealth to the metropolis, and had long been esteemed as the commercial and manufacturing centre of the great plateau of Huitzilapan.

As the Spaniards and their allies advanced toward the city, they were met by a stately procession, at the head of which were the nobles, who, bowing obsequiously before Cortés, begged that their foes, the Tlascaltecs, should not be allowed to enter the city. The request was granted, only a few of their carriers being admitted, together with the Spaniards and Totonecs. The courts of one of the temples were offered as quarters, and presently appeared servants laden with provisions. On the following day, the quantity was diminished, and on the third day none were furnished, the chieftains excusing themselves by saying that their stock was almost exhausted. At this moment came envoys from Montezuma, laden with the usual presents, and represented that to proceed toward Mexico would be useless, for the roads were impassable, and the supply of food insufficient.

The condition of affairs was now somewhat critical. The Totonecs reported that barricades had been erected, large stones piled upon the house-roofs, and excavations made in the main street, set with pointed sticks, and loosely covered with thin planks and earth. Then came messengers from the Tlascaltecs, who announced that women and children were leaving the city with their effects, and that unusual preparations were in progress. Finally, as Cortés was informed, Montezuma's emissaries had bribed the chieftains to attack the Spaniards on that very night, while an Aztec army was stationed close to the city.

Summoning the nobles of Cholula, the captain-general expressed his displeasure at the treatment which he had received, and said that on the morrow he would rid them of his presence. Meanwhile he demanded provisions for the journey, and 2,000 warriors to accompany his army. The chieftains promised compliance, and protested their devotion, at the same time whispering to each other, "What need have these men of food when they themselves are soon to be eaten, cooked with chile?"

Soon after nightfall, the Spaniards planted their guns so as to command the avenues of approach, looked well to their

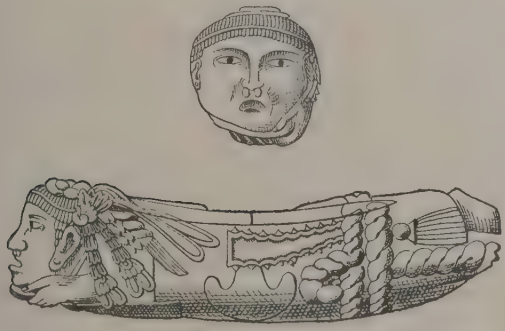
horses and accountrements, and sent word to the Tlascaltecs to join them on hearing the first shot. No attack was made, however, and on the following day came the lords and high-priests, with an immense throng, a force of warriors larger than had been required following them to the Spanish quarter.

Now comes the darkest page in the annals of the Conquest, and one that has afforded ground for much well-deserved reproach against Cortés. Inviting the nobles into his room, as he pretended, to bid them farewell, he upbraided them with their perfidy, declaring that, under the mask of friendship, they had plotted against the lives of the Spaniards. The chieftains admitted their guilt, but attempted to cast the blame on Montezuma. This, replied Cortés, did not justify treachery, and the excuse would avail them nothing.

Then, at a given signal, volleys poured from cannon and arquebuse upon the troops in the court, and the Spaniards rushed in with sword and lance, slaughtering without mercy the panic-stricken host. The high walls permitted no escape, and at the gates gleamed a line of lances above the smoking mouths of the guns. Pressing one upon another, the victims fell in heaps, the dead and dying intermingled, while many were trampled under foot.

When the populace rushed forward to rescue their warriors from butchery, cannon again belched forth destruction. Terrified at their thunder and mysterious missiles, the Cholulans fell back. And now the cavalry were upon them, trampling them to death, and opening a path for the infantry and allies, who pressed forward to take advantage of the confusion. Though armed with intent to attack, the Indians offered but little resistance, for they were dismayed by the strange weapons and tactics of the Spaniards. Without leaders, they had none to restrain their flight, and rushed down the streets and into buildings, anywhere out of reach of the terrible blades of the foe and the iron-shod hoofs of their steeds. On their flanks were the Tlascaltecs, glorying in the opportunity of wreaking vengeance on enemies whom they hated even more bitterly than the Aztecs.

Five hours the carnage continued, and if we can believe Cortés, the number of victims exceeded 6,000. That it was not greater was due to the eagerness of the Tlascaltecs to obtain captives for sacrifice, and of the Spaniards to secure the gold and trinkets contained in the city. When the work was done, Xicotencatl appeared at the head of 20,000 men, and tendered his services, but was ordered to return, after receiving a share of the booty, wherewith to celebrate the massacre, or as the Spaniards termed it, victory. Submission followed, and soon afterward the captain-general, having now received a second invitation from Montezuma, after that monarch had consulted his gods, set out toward the capital.



TEPONAZTLE, OR MUSICAL INSTRUMENT FROM TLASCALA.

CHAPTER XIX.

THE SPANIARDS ENTER THE CAPITAL.

On a wintry day toward the end of October 1519, after climbing through the snow and in the face of chilling blasts the steep ascent of a mountain pass, a turn in the road disclosed to the travel-worn Spaniards the valley of Mexico, dotted as far as the eye could reach with the well-cultivated farms, gardens, and groves that skirted the margin of the lakes. Around them, towns were thickly clustered, and conspicuous above all shone the gleaming temples and towering edifices of the queen city of Anáhuac.

A few days later, the Spaniards approached the capital, and were met by a procession of more than 1,000 nobles and merchants, arrayed in embroidered robes, and with jewelry of pendent stones and gold. Passing in file before their visitors, they touched the earth with their hands, carrying the fingers to the lip, in token of respect. At the junction of the causeway with the main avenue of the city was a wooden bridge, ten paces in width. On this spot the captain-general dismounted to await the arrival of the emperor, who, borne in solitary grandeur through the ranks of his nobles, lords, and court dignitaries, all of them marching with bare feet and bowed heads, descended from his richly adorned litter, and with the dignified mien of an Aztec sovereign, advanced toward Cortés. Above his head four chieftains held a canopy covered with green feathers, adorned with gold and silver and jewels, and before him attendants swept the path and spread tapestry, lest the imperial feet should be soiled by contact with the earth. The monarch was arrayed in a blue *timatli*, or mantle, which, bordered with gold, and richly embroidered and jewelled, hung in loose folds from the neck. On his head was a mitred crown of gold and plumes and

on his feet were golden sandals, their fastenings embossed with precious stones.

Saluting Cortés with the grace of an Old World monarch, Montezuma presented to him a bouquet of flowers in token of welcome. In return, the Spaniard took from his person and placed around the neck of the emperor a necklace of glass, in the form of pearls and diamonds, strung on cords of gold, and scented with musk. With these baubles, false as were the assurances of friendship that accompanied them, the sovereign pretended to be pleased, and after many expressions of good-will returned to his palace.

The Spaniards then marched into the capital. In front were scouts on horseback, followed by the cavalry, at the head of which rode the captain-general, then came the infantry, with the artillery and baggage in the centre, and last the allies. The streets, which had been deserted in deference to the emperor, were now alive with spectators, who thronged the lanes, the windows, and the roofs.

At the plaza, from which rose the huge pyramid-temple, surrounded on all sides by palatial structures, the procession turned to the right, and Cortés was escorted up the steps of a palace facing the eastern side of the temple enclosure. Hence, through a court-yard shaded with colored awnings, and cooled with fountains, Montezuma conducted him in person into a spacious hall, and seated him on a gilded dais bedecked with jewels. "Malinche," he said, — the word meaning 'companion of Mariná,' the attendant of Cortés, — "everything in the palace is at your disposal, and every want shall be attended to." Then, with the courtesy of a monarch he retired, while the Spaniards arranged their quarters, and enjoyed the banquet spread before them by the emperor's servants.

In the afternoon, Montezuma returned, attended by his suite, and expressing his delight at meeting such valiant men, declared that he had sought to prevent them from visiting the capital solely because his subjects feared them. He then related the myth of Quetzalcoatl, expressing his belief that the

Spaniards were the predicted race. "Hence," he said to Cortés, if we can believe the statement of the latter, "be assured that we shall obey you, and hold you as lord-lieutenant of the great king. You may command in all my empire as you please, and shall be obeyed. All that we possess is at your disposal." The captain-general replied that his sovereign, the mightiest in the world, and the ruler of many great princes, was indeed Quetzalcoatl. He desired not, however, to interfere with the emperor's authority, and had sent his envoys only to serve him and instruct him in the true faith.

A few days later, the visitors asked permission to erect a church in their own quarters, and with the help of native artisans the work was completed in three days. While selecting a site for the altar, relates Bernal Diaz, the carpenter observed that an opening in the wall had been recently closed up and coated with plaster. Cortés, ever on his guard against treachery, immediately ordered the wall to be opened. Aladdin on entering his cave could not have been more astonished than were the Spaniards on stepping into the chamber thus exposed. Here were riches for them to their hearts' content. Bars of gold were there, nuggets, large and small, and figures, implements, and jewelry of the same metal; there was silver; there were embroidered and jewelled fabrics; and there were emeralds and other precious stones. The commander allowed his followers to revel in ecstasy at the sight, but on their greed he set restraint. He had reasons of his own for not at that moment disturbing the treasures, and gave orders that the wall should be closed up, all being enjoined to keep secret the discovery.

Already rumors in circulation among the Spaniards had roused anew the fears which had been soothed by the emperor's friendly and hospitable reception. It was even said that the nobles had prevailed on him to break down the bridges, arm the entire populace, and fall on the Spaniards with all his available strength. Whether these reports were originated by Cortés, in order to carry out his plans, cannot be determined.

At least, they served as an excuse for holding a council, at which a most daring expedient was proposed and accepted. This was no less than to seize the person of the emperor, and hold him as a hostage.

If, instead of committing this outrage, the captain-general had now been content to depart with his treasure from the capital, it is probable that the conquest of Mexico would have been completed without further bloodshed. There was in truth no foundation for the rumors. Montezuma desired the friendship of the strangers, and had even offered Cortés his daughter in marriage. His real reasons for such an unhallowed deed were best known to himself; he was zealous for his religion, burning with ambition, and deemed this the shortest and surest road to the full realization of his purposes.

On the morrow, Cortés sent word that he was about to visit the emperor, and ordering out small parties, as if for a stroll around the palace and the paths leading to it, gave them instructions to be ready for any emergency. Twenty-five soldiers followed him in twos and threes to the audience-chamber, all armed to the teeth, but as this was nothing unusual, no suspicion was aroused.

Assuming a serious tone, the captain-general produced a letter from Vera Cruz, containing information of an outrage committed, as was believed, at the emperor's instigation, whereby several Spaniards had been slain. The latter indignantly denied the charge, and Cortés assured him that he believed it to be false; but as commander of the party, he must account for their lives to the king, and ascertain the truth. In this, Montezuma said he would aid him, and calling a trusted officer, gave him a bracelet from his wrist, bearing the imperial signet, and bade him conduct to Mexico the guilty parties. Cortés expressed his satisfaction, but added that, in order to convince his men of the emperor's innocence, it would be advisable for him to remove to their quarters until the offenders were brought to justice.

Montezuma was thunder-struck at this matchless impudence.

He, the august sovereign, before whom princes fell prostrate, at whose word armies sprang into existence, and at whose name great potentates trembled, to be thus treated in his own palace by a score of men, whom he had received as guests, and loaded with presents! For a moment he stood mute; but the changing aspect of his countenance revealed the agitation of his mind. Then he declared that he would not go. They could always find him at his palace. At length, however, he yielded, and closely surrounded by the Spaniards, though, merely, he was told, as a guard of honor, was borne on his litter, through wondering and excited multitudes, to the apartments of Cortés.

To relate all the indignities offered to the Aztec sovereign and to his subjects, together with the story of the conflicts and massacres that followed, would require more space than is contained in all the pages of this book. Only the leading incidents will, therefore, be mentioned, and those in brief and simple phrase.

Though not held a close prisoner, being permitted at times to visit under a strong escort his palaces, temples, and hunting-grounds, the mere fact of his captivity was itself a burden almost greater than the monarch could bear. At first he was not unkindly treated, respect for his person being enforced among the Spaniards under sèvere penalties. It is related that one of the sentinels exclaimed in his hearing, "Confusion on this dog! By guarding him constantly, I am sick at stomach unto death." When informed of this insult, Cortés ordered the man to be publicly lashed in the soldiers' hall. We may presume, however, that the lash was not applied with undue severity.

Within a fortnight after the seizure of Montezuma, a chieftain named Quauhpopoca, the ringleader in the disturbance already mentioned, made his appearance at the capital. As a Spanish historian relates, though his may not be the correct version of the matter, he confessed his guilt, and after some hesitation, admitted that he had acted under the em-

peror's orders. This excuse availed him not, however, and he was at once condemned to the stake, together with his own son and the members of his suite, who had accompanied him to Mexico.

Before the pyre was lit, Cortés presented himself before the emperor, and in a severe tone declared that his life was forfeit; but as he loved him, for himself and for his generosity, he would inflict only a nominal punishment. He then turned on his heel, while one of the soldiers clasped round the prisoner's ankles a pair of shackles. For a moment Montezuma stood rooted to the ground. Then he groaned in anguish at this, the greatest indignity that could be offered to his sacred person.

But the cup of his bitterness was not yet full. The kings of Tezcuco and Tlacopan, and a number of the principal caciques, were now in the captain-general's power. This was surely a good opportunity to exact of them an acknowledgment of Spanish sovereignty. He reminded the emperor of a promise already made to pay tribute, and required that he and his vassals should tender their allegiance. Instead of objecting, as had been anticipated, Montezuma at once acquiesced, mainly for the reason, perhaps, that he imagined his consent would be followed by the departure of his persecutors.

The chieftains and dignitaries of his court were summoned, and in their presence he declared that the long-expected race had arrived from the land of the rising sun, and demanded their allegiance in the name of Quetzalcoatl, to whom of right the sovereignty belonged. The gods had willed that their own generation should repair the omission of their ancestors. "Hence," he continued, his words being probably dictated by the Spaniards, "I pray that as you have hitherto honored and obeyed me as your lord, so you will henceforth honor and obey this great king, for he is your legitimate ruler, and in his place accept this mighty captain. All the tribute and service hitherto tendered to your emperor, bestow upon him, for I must also serve him, and bestow upon him all that he may

require. In doing so, you will please me, and fulfil your duty." The concluding words of the self-deposed monarch were choked with sobs, which, in the humiliation of his soul, he could no longer stifle. The courtiers and chieftains wept, and even the eyes of the Spaniards were dimmed with tears.

PIPE FROM CASAS GRANDES.

CHAPTER XX.

LA NOCHE TRISTE.

We must now return for a moment to Cuba, where Velazquez had received a royal commission granting him the control of all the lands discovered under his auspices. Toward the close of the year 1519, the largest expedition ever fitted out in the New World set sail from Santiago. It consisted of eighteen vessels, with more than 900 soldiers, of whom eighty were horsemen, with a large force of sailors, several hundred Indians, and a park of artillery. The armament was placed in charge of Pánfilo de Narvaez, and was directed as much against Cortés as against Montezuma.

When news was received of its arrival at Vera Cruz, Cortés sent to the commander the priest Guevara, expressing his delight at finding an old comrade at the head of the expedition, though he regretted that hostile measures had been taken against one who, as a loyal servant, held the country for his king. If Narvaez had brought with him a royal commission, it would of course be obeyed; otherwise, he was willing to come to a friendly agreement. But Narvaez would not listen to any overtures. He knew that the forces of Cortés were inferior to his own, and of the Indians he had no fear. Father Olmedo was then sent to his camp with valuable presents, but Narvaez remained stubborn, and declared that the conquerors were acting the part of traitors.

Cortés must now look to himself, for a single defeat might prove his ruin. If Narvaez were to advance on Mexico, the Aztecs would not fail to take advantage of the opportunity, either to join their supposed deliverer, or to attack the invaders on their own account. This would place them between two fires, to which famine would prove an effectual ally. There was but one resort, and this was to divide his forces in order

to meet the new danger. Leaving 140 men to guard the capital, in charge of Pedro de Alvarado, he set out with only seventy Spaniards toward Vera Cruz, but on reaching Cholula was joined by its garrison of 150, and before arriving at the coast by sixty others.

With this little band, 280 in all, Cortés attacked the enemy's camp by night, and after a feeble resistance, gained possession of it, the entire force being surrendered, together with the vessels and munitions of war. When brought into the presence of the conqueror, Narvaez, who was a boastful and arrogant man, exclaimed: "Señor, you may hold high the good fortune you have had, and the great achievement of securing my person." With a twinkle of malicious merriment, the captain-general regarded his fallen foe for an instant, and replied: "Señor Narvaez, many deeds have I performed since coming to Mexico; but the least of them all has been to capture you."

During the absence of the captain-general, the forces of Alvarado in the capital were exposed to imminent peril. At the time of Cortés' departure, the festival of Tezcatlipoca was in progress, and the Mexicans had received permission to celebrate it in their temple, on condition that no human victims were sacrificed, a portion of it being used for Christian worship. Hearing that a new and more powerful band of invaders had landed on the coast, the caciques resolved to attack the slender garrison remaining in the city, before it could be re-enforced. The strictest secrecy was preserved as to their plans, but nevertheless they were discovered. Whereupon Alvarado formed a most infamous resolve. He would enter the sanctuary while the priests and chieftains were celebrating the festival, and he and his men would hew them in pieces. This design was executed only too faithfully, and at least 600 of the leading men among the Aztecs were put to the sword, the temple being then plundered by the Spaniards and their allies.

But the Spaniards were now to find that they had mistaken the character of the Aztecs. Under the outward guise of

humility slumbered a fierce and warlike nature, and though that nature might be seemingly cold and impassive as the stones of the pavement, the iron heel of their oppressors had now struck fire from it. At this last outrage, the people flew to arms, and when Cortés returned, a few days later, he found the garrison in a state of siege. Fierce encounters were of daily occurrence; and at length the Spaniards attempted to force their way out of the city by way of the Tlacopan causeway, but found this no easy task. At the pyramid-temple there was a desperate conflict, in which many of the invaders were killed or wounded, and soon their retreat by the causeway was cut off. The only means of exit was by the lake, which was already covered with canoes filled with armed and resolute men. A council was summoned, and it was resolved to force an exit from the city at once, and at all hazards, as starvation was at hand, and delay would only diminish their strength, without corresponding gain.

To add to the troubles of the Spaniards, there occurred at this juncture the death of the emperor. During the fight at the pyramid-temple, he had interceded with his people, at the instance of Cortés, and had thus addressed them: "You are in arms, my children, and in battle. Why is this? You will only be slain, and there will be heard throughout the land for many years the wail of wives and little ones. You would give me my liberty, and I thank you. You do not turn from me in anger, and I thank you. You have not chosen another king in my stead, and I thank you. Such an act would displease the gods, and bring destruction on all. And see! I am no prisoner. By divine command, I must remain the guest of the Spaniards yet a little longer, and you must not molest them, for soon they will return whence they came. Alas! my people, my country, my crown!"

As he ceased to speak, his head fell upon his breast, with a heavy sigh, and with copious tears. The monarch's strength had departed from him, and he was thoroughly unmanned. His subjects knew that he had spoken falsely, and that he

was no longer fitted to rule over them. A while ago his words would have been received as those of a god; but now the scales had fallen from their eyes, and they saw him as he was. "Coward! chicken!" they exclaimed; "woman-slave to the Spaniards, fit only for the gown and the spindle!" Presently came a shower of arrows and stones, and before his guard could interpose their shields, several missiles struck him, one of them on the left temple, which caused him to fall senseless into the arms of the by-standers. From his injuries, and from the distress of his broken heart, Montezuma never recovered, refusing all nourishment, assistance, and sympathy, until, three days later, death came to his relief.

About the end of June 1520, the Spaniards began their retreat, again attempting the capture of the Tlacopan causeway. The path swarmed with warriors, and the waters around it with canoes, whence myriads of missiles were hurled on the retiring foe. After a desperate struggle, they were compelled to retreat to their quarters; but as they approached the last bridge of the causeway, nearest the city, they found it removed, and there was no alternative but to take to the water, amid a storm of javelins and stones, while men armed with spears pressed on their disordered ranks. Cortés remained to the last to cover the retreat, and single-handed charged again and again on the Aztec host, striking with the energy of despair. Eager to secure the great captain, the enemy pressed heavily upon him, and but for his horse and his stout armor he would certainly have perished. But ringing loud his battle-cry, he leaped his heavily laden steed across a chasm more than six feet in width, and quickly left behind him the disappointed warriors.

A little before midnight, on the 30th of June, the Spaniards and their allies again set forth on their retreat, stealthily creeping down the temple stairs and reaching the Tlacopan causeway. The streets were deserted, and no sound was heard save the measured tramp of the soldiers. Along the path like phantoms the army moved, and the causeway was almost

reached. Already they began to breathe more freely, and to enjoy a feeling of intense relief. But suddenly the piercing cry of a woman awoke the stillness of the night, like a warning note from the watch-tower of Avernus. Instantly the war-drum at the temple of Tlatelulco sounded an alarm, chilling the fugitives to their hearts' core, and its dread tones were quickly followed by shrill trumpet blasts and the shouts of warriors echoed and re-echoed from every quarter.

Meanwhile the advanced guard had reached the broken crossing that formerly connected the road with the causeway. Here a portable bridge was laid, over which the van marched with quickened step, followed by the centre with the baggage and artillery. At this moment, the enemy fell on the rear, rending the air with their yells, while from the cross-roads issued a swarm of warriors, who attacked them on the flank with lance and sword. To add to the horrors of the scene, several men and horses slipped on the wet bridge and fell into the water, while others were crowded over its edge. The remainder succeeded in crossing, except about 100, who, bewildered by the battle-cries and death-shrieks, turned back to the fort, where they held out until compelled by hunger to surrender. They were afterward offered up in sacrifice at the coronation feast of Cuitlahuatzin, a younger brother of Montezuma, and now the emperor elect.

The half-mile of causeway between the first and second breaches was now filled with the Spaniards and their allies, whose flanks were constantly harassed on either side. Fearlessly the Aztecs jumped from their canoes to the banks, and fought the enemy with lance and javelin. Some crept up the side, and seizing the legs of the soldiers, tried to drag them into the water. So crowded were they that they could with difficulty defend themselves, and aggressive movements were out of the question.

Repeated orders had been sent to hasten the removal of the bridge to the second crossing, but the structure was so deeply imbedded that the men labored for some time in vain, exposed.

meanwhile, to a fierce onslaught. At length it was extracted, but before it could be drawn over the causeway, it was borne down by the enemy at the farther end, and became a complete wreck. This was a great calamity; for the Spaniards were now hemmed in between two deep channels on a causeway across which only twenty men could march in line. Presently, a rush was made for the second channel, where, in the face of the foe, the soldiers had already begun to cross on the single beam that had been left intact. As this was a very slow process, many took to the water, only to receive their death-blow; some were taken prisoners, and some sank beneath the burden of their gold. The canoes were as numerous here as elsewhere, and the enemy as determined. At this moment, the captain-general almost lost his life, being seized by the Indians, who attempted to drag him off his horse. The effort would probably have succeeded but for the prompt aid of a Tlascaltec, afterward christened Antonio.

Thus in the darkness the din of battle continued, the shouts and strokes of the combatants falling on the ear in one continuous roar. Little regular fighting was attempted, the Spaniards being intent on escape, and the Aztecs yielding readily before the cavalry, and taking refuge in their canoes. On reaching the next channel, which was the last, the fugitives found it deeper than the others; and here, also, the foe was gathering, in ever-increasing numbers, to watch this death-trap. All efforts to clear a passage were stubbornly resisted, and the men growing more irresolute, a messenger was sent to Cortés. Before his arrival, however, the chivalrous Sandoval had already plunged into the lake with a number of horsemen, followed by foot-soldiers, who fell into their wake, holding on to the trappings of the horses, or striking out for themselves. The passage was extremely difficult, and several horsemen fell under the pressure of friends and foes. Those who followed suffered yet more, being pushed aside by their comrades, struck with clubs and stones, wounded with spear-thrusts, or, most horrible fate of all, drawn into the canoes by dusky boatmen, to be reserved for the dread stone of sacrifice.

On reaching the channel where Sandoval had taken his stand to keep clear the bank and protect the passage, Cortés heard that Alvarado was in danger. Proceeding at once to the rear, beyond the second channel, he found it hotly contested, and his arrival gave new courage to the troops, as with gallant charges he relieved them from the terrible pressure. When he looked around in vain for the remainder of the force that had been ordered to protect this post, Alvarado assured him that all the living were there. The rear-guard had been overwhelmed, and those who had escaped death or capture had been thrown into disorder, from which he had extricated them with the utmost difficulty.

Leaving Alvarado to cover the retreat as best he could, Cortés hastened to direct the passage of the middle channel. Here was a sickening spectacle, and of all the horrors of this mournful night this was the most horrible. A bridge had been wanting, and now a bridge was there; but one formed of the dead and dying, piled in heaps on either side of the one slippery beam over which Spaniards and allies were rushing, heedless of the groans of their fallen comrades.

But the end was not yet. At the last channel was a yawning abyss, over which was also a single remaining beam, serving rather as a snare than a support. The slow motion of the army had enabled the Mexicans to surround this point in swarms, while, harassed on every side, the fugitives thought only of escaping this new danger. Throwing aside their arms and treasure, they plunged into the dark waters, bearing each other down, regardless of the claims of friendship or humanity. Some cried to the saints for mercy; some cursed their fate and him who had brought them there, and many sank with mute despair into the arms of death, while above the tumult rang forth the fierce yells and insults of the foe.

Cortés was everywhere present, cheering, guiding, and protecting his troops. What man could do he did; but at length, seeing that further effort at the channels was unavailing, he hastened forward to look to those who had already crossed.

Heedless of companies or officers, the men were banded together in parties of a score or two, and sword in hand, where this had not been thrown away, were hurrying along the causeway. Finding the advance comparatively safe, the captain-general returned with a few horsemen and foot-soldiers to protect the remainder of his forces. At this moment the remnant of the rear-guard was approaching the last channel, and the men, being now panic-stricken, offered but slight resistance, crowding against each other, and presenting their backs as a target for the enemy's missiles.

Alvarado, who was wounded and had lost his horse, finding the men beyond control, gathered around him a small band and sought the channel, leaving the rest to take care of themselves. It is related that, when he reached this spot, the beam had been broken down; and now indeed was his life in peril, safety depending on instant action. With a searching glance into the troubled pool, and across the awful chasm, he stepped back to prepare for a final spring, and then, rushing forward, planted his long pike on the yielding débris, and vaulted across. The Indians, it is said, prostrated themselves in admiration, exclaiming: "Truly, this man is the Tonatiuh!" or sun-god. To this day the place is still known by the name of El Salto de Alvarado, or the leap of Alvarado. While leading the remnant of his forces toward Tlacopan, Cortés seated himself on a stone near the village of Popotla, to weep over the disasters of this mournful night, ever afterwards termed by the Spaniards La Noche Triste.

SKULL AND CROSS-BONES — NOHPAT, YUCATAN.

CHAPTER XXI.

CAPTURE AND DESTRUCTION OF MEXICO.

In July 1520, the army reached the city of Tlascala, though for several days it was hotly pursued by the Mexicans, while on the plain near Otumba a vast array was gathered to intercept its passage. At length, however, the worn-out Spaniards were in safe quarters, being accorded by the Tlascaltecs a hospitable reception. In vain the Aztecs despatched an embassy to the latter, deploring the long feud which had existed between them, recalling their intimate relationship in blood and language, and urging the mutual benefit of a permanent peace. One obstacle alone, declared the envoys, stood in the way, and that was the presence of the Spaniards, to whom was due the unfortunate condition of the entire country. All overtures were rejected; for, said a leading chieftain in the Tlascalan council, the strangers had delivered them from want and danger; they had enriched them with trade and spoils, and had raised their republic to a more prominent position than it had ever before enjoyed. The interests of the state required the friendship of those who had opened for them the path to glory and riches; while in good faith they must be loyal to their invited guests.

Cortés held forth the most brilliant prospects as the result of this alliance, and at once resolved to renew the campaign. When this determination was made known to his followers, a formal request was presented to him, asking that the expedition should return to Vera Cruz, for with their small numbers, scantily supplied with arms, ammunition, horses, and clothing, many of them being maimed and wounded, they were entirely unprepared to take the field. Cortés declined. Before him were fame and wealth, while to retreat would bring on him disgrace and poverty, perhaps imprisonment and death. He

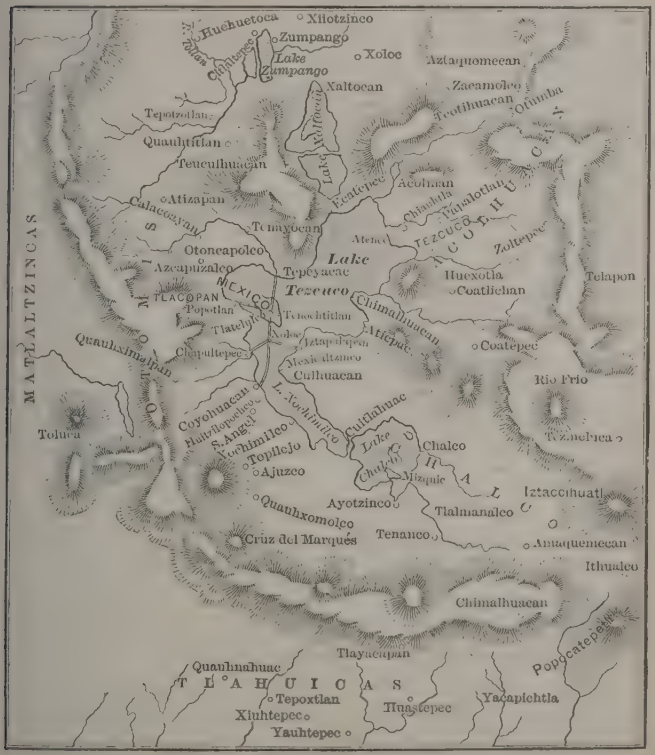
had sacrificed the lives of many of his countrymen, and as yet he had nothing to show for it, not even gold.

"What is this I hear?" he asked of his assembled troops. "Is it true that you would retire from the fertile fields of New Spain, — you, Spaniards, Castilians, Christians? leave the shiploads of gold which in the Aztec capital we saw and handled? leave standing the abominable idols with their blood-stained ministers, and tamely summon others to enjoy the riches and glory which you are too craven to grasp? Alas for your patriotism, your duty to your emperor and your God! Alas for the honor of the Spanish arms! Go all who will; abandon your sacred trusts, and with them the wealth in mines and tributes, and the fair estates awaiting you. For myself, if left alone, then alone will I remain, and take command of Indians, since my Spanish followers have all turned cowards!"

Shouts of approval arose from the old comrades of the captain-general, who declared that not a man should be allowed to depart for the coast. The troops were soon afterward mustered at a village near Tlascala, and were found to include 450 Spaniards, with about 20 horses, a few firelocks and field-pieces, and a number of cross-bows, though most of their remaining weapons were swords and pikes. The greater portion of the men consisted of the command of Narvaez, many of whom had cast in their fortunes with Cortés. There were also 6,000 Tlascaltec allies, and a larger army of Indians was being assembled under the cacique Xicotencatl. Before reaching the city of Mexico, several re-enforcements arrived, increasing the force of Spaniards to more than 900, of whom 86 were horsemen, with three heavy guns and fifteen smaller pieces of artillery, the Tlascaltec contingent numbering more than 50,000. Meanwhile a number of brigantines had been prepared at Tezcuco, and were carried in pieces, with their spars, cordage, and sails, on the backs of Indians.

After subduing a number of provinces and towns, among the latter being Xaltocan, Quauhtitlan, Tenayocan, and several other strongholds in the valley of Mexico, in May 1521 the

Spaniards laid siege to the capital. The day on which the brigantines were launched into the lake was celebrated as one of rejoicing and festivity, the royal banner of Castille being



THE VALLEY OF MEXICO.

hoisted on all the vessels amid cheers and salvos of artillery. Each craft was placed in charge of a captain, with twenty-four Spaniards, including cross-bowmen, cannoneers, and arquebusiers. While the bunting was being unfurled, the strains of

the te deum were heard floating over the waters of the lake of Mexico.

On whitmonday, the 20th of May, the troops were divided into three divisions, their command being intrusted to Alvarado, Olid, and Sandoval, who led the cavalry in person, directing the movements of the infantry through the captains, and of the allies through native chieftains. The commanders were placed at various points, so as completely to invest the city, and to each of them were assigned about thirty horsemen, with 150 infantry, and a large force of allies. For himself, Cortés selected for the present the management of the fleet, on which at the opening of the siege he placed his chief reliance.

During the first week of June, a combined attack was made on the city from several quarters; but though the assailants succeeded in penetrating to the heart of the capital, even beyond the plaza, setting fire to a number of buildings, they were finally driven back, after a hard struggle, to their encampments. In the mean time further large re-enforcements, with supplies, arrived from the Xochimilcans, the Otomís, and the Tezcucans, swelling the forces of the Spaniards to at least 200,000 men. Three days later, another assault was made, but each channel and intrenchment taken during the first attack had to be captured anew. On reaching the plaza, where the houses were yet intact, missiles were hurled upon the assailants with such destructive force that Cortés found it necessary to apply the torch to several edifices, among them being the palace of Axayacatl, his former headquarters, where he and his comrades had sustained so fierce a siege, and the House of Birds, a prominent and beautiful feature in the capital. When evening came, the signal was given to return to camp, and the conflict closed without decisive result.

Thus day by day the siege continued with varying result, but after six weeks of incessant warfare the end seemed little nearer than before. At one time, three fourths of the city was reduced; but nearly all this advantage had been lost, mainly on account of the narrow streets, which, encompassed by houses, served

both for attack and retreat, and the numerous traps, in the form of channels and canals. So long as these obstacles remained, progress must be slow, and the troops would be constantly in danger of surprise. Cortés resolved therefore to tear down every building as he advanced, and fill up every channel, "not taking one step in advance without leaving all desolate behind, and converting water into firm land, regardless of delay." So wrote the captain-general in his despatches, while expressing regret for the destruction of a city which he declared to be the most beautiful in the world.

Vast stores of provisions had been accumulated by the Mexicans, but the large influx of fugitives from the lake towns had greatly diminished the supply, which had received but scanty additions, on account of the close blockade preserved by the brigantines. Famine was now raging in their midst, and jewels and gold were offered by the handful for equal quantities of food. The poor searched among the canals for snails, lizards, and rats; they skimmed the water of its scum, and tore up the earth for roots and weeds, glad even to chew the bark of trees, and anxiously waiting for their scant allowance of brackish water. Disease marched hand in hand with hunger, and weakened by their sufferings, hundreds were left to linger in torment until relieved by death.

Rapid progress was made by the troops under Cortés in the work of demolition. The Tlacopan road was levelled, thus affording easy communication with the camp of Alvarado, and on the 25th of July, the eve of Santiago's day, the greater part of the main street leading to the principal market was captured. The progress made in the direction of the market, which was the objective point of all the operations, caused Alvarado to make desperate efforts to win this position in advance of his comrades. It was large and level, capable, as will be remembered, of holding 60,000 persons, and once within it, he felt confident of holding his ground. Advancing by night with all his forces, he took the Aztecs by surprise, and effecting an entrance without difficulty, met in good order the

onset of the Mexicans. The latter were driven back by the cavalry, while the infantry took possession of a number of stalls and began the work of pillage.

An officer named Gutierre de Badajoz was now ordered to capture the pyramid-temple which overlooked the market-place. His advance was fiercely disputed, and again and again were his men driven back, or hurled, bruised and bleeding, down the steps. Nevertheless he persevered, and step by step climbed upward, sustained by re-enforcements, until after two hours of hard fighting the summit was reached. Then the two wooden towers containing the altars and idols were gained, and the torch being applied, dense columns of smoke arising from them announced the victory of the Spaniards. Loud rose the wail of the Mexicans as they witnessed this disaster, foreboding destruction to their cause; but at once they renewed the onslaught, and with such fierce determination that the Spaniards were finally driven back with considerable loss.

Nothing daunted, Alvarado renewed his attack the following day, and on this occasion met with little resistance, the Mexicans being discouraged by the fall of their temple and the resolute bearing of the foe. After passing through the market-place, he came in sight of a detachment under Cortés, whose men received him with ringing and repeated cheers. The latter had just captured the intrenchments nearest to the market-place, and the captain-general and his lieutenant ascended together the lofty pyramid over which the royal banner of Spain was already unfurled. Surveying the city beneath him, Cortés afterward remarked in his despatches: "It already seemed undoubted that of eight parts we had gained seven."

The splendid metropolis of Anáhuac, the finest and largest in all the northern continent of America, was now a mass of ruins, through which the broad paths levelled by the invaders led to the one quarter that remained to the besieged. Here, amid famine, disease, and putrefying bodies, the natives were huddled in dense masses, amid an atmosphere so pestiferous that the soldiers who entered the recently abandoned lanes

were almost stifled, and fires were lit to purify the air. The inhabitants met their foe with passive indifference, and with the recklessness of despair, while on the roofs of the houses beyond stalked the warriors, gaunt and yellow, like caged and starving beasts.

Appalled at this hideous spectacle, Cortés ordered a suspension of hostilities, and despatched to Quauhtemotzin, the commander of the Aztecs, some captive chieftains with proposals for peace. He pointed out that further resistance would but involve needless suffering and slaughter, and imbitter against the Aztecs the besieging forces. He was ready, he declared, to forget the past; he would respect the persons and property of the Mexicans and the rights of their sovereign, demanding in return only a renewal of the allegiance already tendered during the life-time of Montezuma. Quauhtemotzin barely listened to the messengers. "Tell Malinche," he replied, "that I and mine elect to die. We will intrust ourselves neither to the men who commit, nor to the god who permits, such atrocities!" Further proposals were made, but without avail, for the priests now declared that the gods, appeased by sacrifice, had promised victory within three days. Meanwhile Cortés was not impatient to renew the conflict, for disease and hunger were fighting on his side, and already the capital was doomed.

No sooner were the three days expired than the Mexicans made a sudden and furious attack on the besiegers, throwing their front ranks into confusion. The troops quickly rallied, however, under cover of the artillery, and Cortés resolved to inflict a severe chastisement. Alvarado was ordered to carry by assault a large ward, containing more than 1,000 buildings, while the remainder of the forces attacked the main quarter. The Aztecs fought with such indifference as to their fate that the battle soon became a butchery, and more than 12,000 of them were killed or captured. Thus the promised victory proved a defeat, and now the hearts even of the most hopeful sank within them. The despair was greatly increased

by a strange phenomenon which occurred about this time, described in native records as a fiery whirlwind, resolving itself into flames and smoke. Rising with a great uproar toward the north, it revolved over the doomed quarter after sunset, and disappeared in the lake, filling the souls of the Mexicans with terror.

Returning the following day to renew the fight, Cortés was met by throngs of haggard and emaciated beings, careless of their lives, yet clamoring for bread. He ordered that they should not be molested, and proceeded to hold parley with certain of the chieftains who had requested a conference. "Son of heaven!" they cried, "within one brief day and night the tireless orb returns. Why dost not thou also finish thy task as quickly? Kill us, so that we may no longer suffer, but enter paradise and join the happy throng already sent thither." The answer was that in their own hands lay the remedy. If they would but desist from their insane opposition, bread would be given to all, and their lives and property would be secured from harm. No definite answer was returned, for though eager to speak, the caciques seemed afraid. It now became evident that the emperor and a few of the leading nobles alone stood in the way of peace, and one more effort was made to prevent further bloodshed, but without success.

On the sickening details that attended the close of the siege, we need not longer dwell. Day after day, conflicts, or rather massacres, followed in quick succession, and on one occasion it is said that no less than 40,000 of the inhabitants were butchered. In helpless despair, like beasts penned in the shambles, the survivors awaited their death-blow as a deliverance. The streets were piled with the dead bodies of these unoffending victims, while on the living settled the blackness of despair and desolation. "Never," writes Cortés, attempting to throw the blame on his allies, "was such cruelty seen, beyond all bounds of nature, as among these natives."

Fearing that the emperor would escape him, Cortés directed Sandoval to place vessels on the watch for fugitives, especially

at a point named the harbor of Tlatelulco, into which it was proposed to drive the besieged, and secure the monarch and his courtiers with their gold and jewels. Observing that many were taking to their canoes, Sandoval bore down upon them with his brigantines, capsizing the greater portion, filled as they were with the nobles and their families, of whom a large number perished.

At this moment a few boats of larger build emerged from their hiding-place, and were paddled rapidly toward the open lake. Sandoval observed the movement, and immediately ordered the captain of his swiftest vessel to pursue the fugitives, who were probably persons of note. As the craft gained upon them, the canoes scattered in all directions; but a captive on board the brigantine pointed out the one most likely to contain the emperor. On approaching it, the archers levelled their cross-bows, whereupon the signal was made of surrender, with the cry that Quauhtemotzin was there.

While passing along the streets into the presence of the conqueror, all eyes were turned on the captive, and men ceased even from the work of carnage to gaze upon the fallen sovereign. He walked with a firm step, and the majestic dignity of his bearing impressed all beholders. His grave, careworn features betokened suffering, and the pallor which overspread his face was increased by the feverish brilliancy of the eyes, now looking straight before him, and now bent sorrowfully on the ground.

On hearing of the emperor's capture, Cortés gave orders that a dais should be prepared, and a table spread with refreshments. As he approached, the guard drew up in line, and saluting him with the utmost courtesy, the captain-general led him to a seat by his side. "Malinche," said the fallen monarch, "I have done all within my power for the defence of my people; but the gods have not favored me. My empire is gone, my city is destroyed, and my vassals are dead. For what have I to live? Rid me, therefore, of a worthless existence." Thus saying, he touched a dagger in the Spaniard's belt.

Cortés sought to reassure him, declaring that none could resist the God of the Christians. He had performed his duty like a brave and noble prince, and as such he should be treated. We shall see presently how this promise was fulfilled.

Until long after vespers on this day sacred to St Hippolytus, the 13th of August, 1521, the slaughter and pillage were continued. Shortly afterward rain set in, followed toward midnight by a furious thunder-storm, which to the homeless Mexicans seemed like the tumult of their departing deities. To the conquerors, the roar of heaven's artillery appeared as a salvo in honor of victory, and their triumph was celebrated with feasting and merriment, until at length came slumber, with visions of gold, and lands, and vassals.

For seventy-five days the siege had lasted, amidst almost hourly scenes of bloodshed, in which nearly 1,000 Spaniards were engaged, and some 200,000 of their allies. The losses of the former did not exceed 100, while of the latter there fell vast numbers, and of the Mexicans at least 100,000 perished by the sword, in addition to those who died of famine and disease. Peace being proclaimed, the surviving Aztecs began to crawl forth from their pest-holes and seek the fields adjacent, now lustrous green under the refreshing rains, filing in long procession over the causeway, while the very sun struck black on their pinched features and plague-stricken forms.

Cortés then summoned the allies, whose services were no longer needed, and as he bade them farewell, complimented them on their loyalty and bravery, which, he said, would be represented to his sovereign and suitably rewarded. To the chieftains were given shields, robes, and other articles of trifling value, accompanied with promises of more substantial gifts. Then they went their way, contented with their slaves and spoils, with the humiliation of their foe, and with the promises of the Spaniards, little dreaming that, throughout the long days and nights of this terrible siege they had been forging their own fetters, which they and their children were soon to wear.

PART III.—VICEREGAL OR COLONIAL PERIOD.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE LAST DAYS OF HERNAN CORTÉS.

At the division of spoils made soon after the discovery of the treasure-chamber in the pyramid-temple, there remained, after making the usual deductions, only one hundred pesos, or dollars, for each of the rank and file. So at least relates Bernal Diaz, though by pesos he may probably have meant pesos de oro, or pieces of gold, worth about twelve silver dollars. Accepting even the latter version, this was no very munificent return for the risk and hardships encountered by the soldiers of Cortés. Many refused to accept this as their share, and those who did accept it joined in the clamor of the discontented. It is probable that the present money value of all the plunder and presents obtained by the Spaniards was little short of $10,000,000, and by some authorities it is estimated at a higher figure. But from this sum was first deducted the royal fifth, and then the fifth promised to the captain-general, after which a large portion was set apart for the expenses and losses of the expedition, while double or special shares were assigned to the priests, the captains, those who owned horses, and those who carried fire-arms and cross-bows.

At the close of the siege, the final distribution, increased somewhat by the presents and tributes of neighboring provinces, gave to each horseman about a hundred pesos de oro, and to the foot-soldiers a smaller amount. Thereupon insubordination broke out in the camp. The riches of Mexico had already been severely drained, and now little was left of the fabled wealth of Anáhuac; but there were few among the

Spaniards who did not believe that gold and jewels had been concealed by the commander, or by his captives. "Cortés is conniving with Quauhtemotzin," they cried, "in order to secure possession of the treasures." To the never-ending shame of the captain-general, it must be related that, in order to pacify his troops, he ordered the emperor and the king of Tlacopan to be put to the torture.

The mode of torture was simple but extremely effective; their feet were roasted before a slow fire, oil being applied to prevent a too rapid charring of the flesh, for this might lessen

STONE FOUND BURIED IN THE PLAZA OF MEXICO.

the pain and defeat the purpose. Quauhtemotzin bore his sufferings with the stoicism of an Aztec warrior. When his fellow-victim turned toward him in anguish as if appealing for compassion, he exclaimed, "Think you that I enjoy it?" Nevertheless he bethought himself how to escape the torment, and mentioned a number of places where gold and jewels might be found. Little of value was recovered, however, although to this day it is related that beneath the waters of the lake of Mexico lie buried treasures of untold value.

What must now be done with the remains of the captured city, was the question among the Spanish captains. A stronghold was certainly needed, in order to secure possession of the

valley; and after some discussion, it was resolved that its site should be at Mexico. The dead were buried, fires were lighted to purify the atmosphere, the streets were opened, and the ruins removed. All this was accomplished by the allies from the lake districts, to whom, during the siege, the Aztecs had used no vain threat when they exclaimed, "Raze and tear down, ye slaves, but all must be rebuilt with your own hands for the victor!"

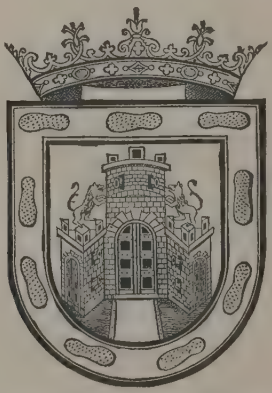
MEXICO REBUILT, 1521.

A plan was drawn out for the Spanish quarter, in the centre of which was the plaza, the name Tenochtitlan, or as the Spaniards wrote it, Temixtitan, being long applied in official documents to this portion of the capital. Two additional causeways were constructed, and the levee which protected the southern front of the city was strengthened and named San Lázaro.

The temple court now served for a market-place, around which were reserved sites for a church, a convent, the governor's palace, the town hall, and other public buildings. For

himself, Cortés built two large dwellings, on the ground where formerly stood the palaces of Montezuma. All the structures were substantially built, many being of stone, and with towers at each corner, loop-holed for defence. The arsenal, with its fortified docks for sheltering the fleet, was protected by battlemented turrets, the first commandant being Pedro de Alvarado. No church was built for several years, a hall in the residence of the captain-general being used as a chapel.

The work of rebuilding progressed rapidly, the native workmen and artisans provided by the chieftains relieving their



COAT OF MAIL OF THE CITY OF MEXICO. FROM A RARE PRINT.

toil with songs and jokes. Among them was a number of Aztecs, who appeared to have already forgotten their recent troubles, glad even to obtain the dole of food which rewarded each day's labor. So rapid was the growth of the city, that in 1523 it was presented by the Spanish monarch with a coat of arms representing a blue field, in allusion to the lake of Mexico, and having in the centre a gilded castle, to which led three paved causeways. The lions rampant, as represented above, are in token of Spanish victory. A gilt border, on

which appear eight maguey leaves, surrounds the field. Seven years later the city was accorded the same pre-eminence as was granted to Búrgos, and in 1548 received the title of "muy noble, grande, y muy leal ciudad," or very noble, great, and very loyal city.

The Aztec coat of arms, representing a maguey plant in the middle of a lake, whereon was perched an eagle holding in its beak a serpent, was also used on some occasions during the reign of the viceroys, and was afterward adopted by the republic of Mexico.

ARMS OF THE REPUBLIC OF MEXICO.

Expeditions were now despatched toward the south, east, and west, for conquest and colonization, Cortés setting forth in 1525 for Honduras, where affairs were at this date in evil case. It cannot be said with truth of the conqueror of Mexico, that he was by nature a bad or a cruel man; rather let us say that through the influence of ambition, priestcraft, the intoxication of success, and a quality which for the moment we will call patriotism, the darker phase of his nature was developed. During this expedition, famine beset the invading host, among them being many Nahua warriors, under command of Quauhtemotzin, the last emperor of Mexico, and the kings of Tlacopan and Tezcuco.

A conspiracy broke out among the allies and was revealed to Cortés. Among the conspirators arrested being Quauhtemotzin, who admitted that hardship and danger had kindled rebellion among his people, but claimed that he was not its author. A secret trial was held, and the emperor of Mexico and the king of Tlacopan were sentenced to be hanged. In the stillness of night, they were dragged to a ceiba-tree, and, says Bernal Diaz, Quauhtemotzin thus addressed the captain-general: "Malinche, many a day have I suspected the falsity of thy words, and that thou hadst destined this end to my life. Why dost thou kill me without justice? God will demand of thee thy answer."

In the year 1540, Cortés embarked for Spain, accompanied by a retinue of nobles. In the suburbs of Madrid he was met by members of the Council of the Indies and other dignitaries, with outward show of respect, but the politeness native to Spaniards gradually turned to coldness, and when asking for a settlement of his affairs, the conqueror of Mexico was treated as any other suitor. Joining as a volunteer on board the flag-ship, an expedition fitted out against Algiers, his vessel, the *Esperanza*, was cast ashore. Prestige, honor, and wealth were gone, his treasure, including the five emeralds presented to him by Montezuma II., and worn on his person as a charm, being lost in the waves. And now followed slight and insult.

A council of war was summoned, the occasion being a proposed attack on a Saracen fortress; but to that council Cortés was not summoned, his very presence being ignored. Stung by this affront, he exclaimed: "Had I but a handful of my veterans from New Spain, not long would they remain outside of yonder fortress!" "Indeed, señor," was the reply, "no doubt you would accomplish wonders; but you would find the Moors quite a different foe from your naked savages."

Bowed with age and infirmity, some four years later the captain-general appealed to his sovereign for redress, asking for a final settlement of his claims. As on other occasions, no

answer was received to his petition, and after three years of waiting and disappointment, the conqueror embarked for Mexico, saying farewell, as he thought forever, to his native land.

At Seville, the nobles of Spain bade him adieu with hollow courtesy; but now already his days were numbered. Fever-stricken and broken-hearted, he was conveyed to the village of Castillejo de la Cuesta, where on the 2d of December, 1547, he breathed his last. The body was deposited in the monastery of San Isidro, the sepulchre of the dukes of Medina Sidonia, being afterward removed by order of Cortés's son to the city of Tezcuco, and thence to other portions of Anáhuac. Over his grave still hangs the shroud of mystery, and it is related that for many years his remains were carried to and fro, finding nowhere a resting-place.

SCULPTURED VASE — TLAHAUC, MEXICO.

CHAPTER XXIII.

AUDIENCIAS AND VICEROYALTY.

THE Consejo de Indias, or Council of the Indies, held, in conjunction with the audiencia of Santo Domingo, control over the affairs of the New World. The word 'audiencia,' from the Latin *audire*, to hear, had a variety of significations, apart from its literal meaning, being applied, not only to the tribunal and its jurisdiction, but also even to the court-room and building. The members of an audiencia were termed oidores, or those who hear.

During his second expedition, Columbus imposed on the natives of Española a tribute; on some a bell-measure of gold, and on others an arroba, or twenty-five pounds, of cotton, to be paid four times in the year. So severe was the tax that many were unable to meet it, and in 1496 service was accepted in place of tribute. This was the origin of the repartimiento, or as it was afterward known encomienda, system, under which the natives of a conquered country were compelled to serve the Spaniards. The first audiencia of Mexico was established in the year 1528, its president being Nuño de Guzman, a ruler noted for his cruelty and his many acts of oppression. Imitating his example, the oidores cast aside all sense of duty to the emperor, to their God, and to their fellowman; strengthening their hands for evil by usurping the functions of the ordinary ministers of justice, and in order to conceal their iniquities, suppressing all letters that contained complaints of their conduct

During the brief existence of this tribunal, the rapacious schemes of Guzman and his confederates spread throughout the land like a fell disease, until natives and Spaniards alike groaned under the infliction. The first step taken by the members of the audiencia was to extort gold from the most

prominent chieftains, whom as yet they dared not seize. In this proceeding, they were aided by a native interpreter, at whose suggestion the caciques were ordered to present themselves at Mexico, for the consideration of matters of importance. As was their custom, the chiefs brought with them valuable gifts, which served but to whet the appetite of the recipients, and the greater the liberality displayed, the more frequently were they summoned. Among them was the king of Michoacan, who became the victim of his own generosity; for at length he was lodged in the house of the president, where it is related that his feet were roasted before a slow fire, in order to wring from him the last ounce of treasure. Encomiendas were seized in all directions, and the natives forced to work without the reward enjoined by royal cédula, or ordinance. The complaint of an individual thrall was punished with stripes or torture, and at the least symptom of discontent, entire towns were declared in a state of rebellion, subdued by force of arms, and their inhabitants sold into slavery in provinces remote from the land of their birth.

At length the clergy, at the head of whom was Bishop Zumárraga, drew up a statement setting forth the misrule of the audiencia, and stating that they were not only powerless to aid either native or Spaniard, but unable to save even themselves from persecution. New Spain was groaning under oppression, and to secure the prosperity of the people, and the spread of the true faith, there was need of a ruler able to comprehend the condition of the country, and willing to shape aright its destinies. This document was smuggled into Spain concealed in a hollow wooden image, sent home, as was pretended, to show the progress made by the natives in the art of sculpture.

To the charges made by the clergy were added others still more damnatory. Whereupon Charles V. resolved that the members of the audiencia should be recalled. As his presence was needed elsewhere at this juncture, he desired the Empress Isabel of Portugal, a woman of noble sentiments and sterling

qualities, to see that the malefactors were punished, and worthy officials elected in their stead. After the matter had been submitted to the council, it was resolved to establish a viceroyalty in New Spain, and to send thither a ruler chosen from the nobles of the court, whose birth and position would insure his loyalty, and act as a safeguard against malfeasance. But delay was needed to select such a person, and to enable him to make his preparations. Meanwhile, as the affairs of New Spain required an immediate remedy, it was decided to send forth a new audiencia, composed of men whose honesty and ability had stood the test of time and of temptation. The presidency was conferred on Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, formerly inquisitor of Seville, and at this date president of the audiencia of Santo Domingo. Among the oidores, of whom there were four, may be mentioned Alonso de Maldonado, who was afterward appointed the first president of the Audiencia of the Confines.

As little more remains to be said on the subject of audiencias, it may be in place to mention that their number in Spanish America was ultimately increased to eleven, including those of Mexico, Lima, and Santa Fé de Bogotá, each of these three having as president a viceroy, with eight oidores, four alcaldes del crimen, or judges in criminal cases, and two fiscales, or crown prosecutors. There were similar tribunals, the number of officials varying as to place and date, at Santiago de Guatemala, Guadalajara, Venezuela, Chile, Quito, Santo Domingo, Puerto Principe, and Buenos Ayres. Thus it will be seen that, during the viceregal period, the dominion of Spain in the New World was of vast extent; and if to these acquisitions be added the Philippine and other islands between Asia and America, it is probable that the Spaniards made no idle boast when they declared that theirs was the first empire on which the sun never set.

Early in 1531 the oidores opened their court in the palace of Cortés, whose residencia was now being taken, this word meaning an investigation as to the official acts of an executive

or judicial officer during his term of residence within his province. In September of the same year, they were joined by the president, who had awaited their arrival at Santo Domingo.

The affairs of the residencia, the administration of justice, and the inauguration of reforms, proved no easy task for the members of the audiencia, who were compelled to work daily twelve hours out of the twenty-four, not excepting feast-days. At a special council, the treatment of the natives, the tribute system, and cognate branches were considered, and it was resolved to replace the encomienda system by that of corregimientos, in charge of officials termed corregidores, who were to govern the natives as tributary vassals, though granting them almost the same freedom as was accorded to the Spaniards.

The corregidores were instructed to report on the industrial condition of their districts, so that the higher authorities might determine the kind and amount of tribute to be collected. They must see that the natives tilled their land, and were kept at work, so that the tribute did not fall off; they must aim at their conversion, at the spread of christianity in this distant portion of the empire, and they must protect them from abuse, and maltreatment, taking heed as magistrates for the observance of social, religious, and political regulations. It will presently appear that these instructions were not very faithfully executed.

Near the capital, the town of Santa Fé was established for converted natives; and here, under care of friars, they were to be instructed in European arts, sciences, and customs, some being apprenticed to Spanish artisans. Efforts were made to relieve the sufferings created by strange diseases, as measles and small-pox, which appear to be inseparable adjuncts to the progress of civilization in all distant lands. Moors and Jews, and descendants of those who had been condemned by the inquisition, were expelled, so that they might not profane the presence of the ever-increasing number of converts.

Among other measures of the second audiencia was the

removal to higher ground, on the banks of the river Atoyac, some twenty leagues east of the capital, of the site of Puebla de los Angeles, a settlement founded in 1530 by Hernando de Saavedra. By cédula of the 20th of March, 1532, the empress conferred on it the title of city, granting also a coat of arms, and exemption from taxes for a term of thirty years.

After the conquest of Nueva Galicia by Nuño de Guzman, during which the ex-president burned some of his captives at the

ARMS OF PUEBLO DE LOS ANGELES.

stake, and roasted the feet of others until their toes dropped off, the settlement of Espiritu Santo was founded by Juan de Oñate. Its original site was at Nochistlan, but in 1541 it was removed to a spot south of the Rio Grande de Tololotlan, the name of the town being changed to Guadalajara, in honor of Guzman's birthplace.

The first viceroy of new Spain was Antonio de Mendoza, who accepted office in 1530, though his formal appointment was not made until five years later. Of patrician birth, he was well fitted, both by character and ability, for his station, while there were none who doubted his integrity of purpose. Austere of habit, and abstemious to a degree that was injurious to his health, he was ever faithful and diligent in the discharge of his duties, and none of his successors felt more keenly the responsibilities of a difficult and by no means enviable position.

Before his appointment as viceroy, Mendoza had been elected

president of the audiencia in place of Fuenleal, who was on the point of returning to Spain. His privileges and prerogatives were most ample, and all affairs of government were placed under his direction. Though advised to consult with the audiencia on matters of importance, he was fully authorized, after receiving their opinions, to act on his own judgment. He must, however, confer with the prelates on such ecclesiasti-

COAT OF ARMS OF THE CITY OF GUADALAJARA.

cal matters as the establishment and extent of dioceses and the building of churches.

Although the emperor was seemingly anxious for the spiritual welfare of the realm, worldly interests were by no means to be neglected. The power of the natives to bear increased tribute was to be considered, as well as the question whether portions of the territory hitherto exempt could not be taxed. Industries were to be encouraged for the benefit of the country, and for the benefit of the royal treasury, and forts were to be erected and provisioned for the purpose of holding the natives in subjection.

About the beginning of October 1535, Mendoza arrived at Vera Cruz, where he was received with becoming ceremony, and conducted in state to the capital, though his reception was tame when compared with that of the later viceroys. During his administration, which lasted for fifteen years, provinces were conquered, both in the north and south, although conspiracies, revolts, and rebellions were not infrequent. Mines were discovered and developed; towns, churches, convents, hospitals, and schools were established; roads, bridges, and other public works were constructed, and agriculture, industry, and commerce were in a flourishing condition.

The emperor could not well afford to dispense with so able and conscientious a servant; but at this date the Spaniards in South America, led by Gonzalo Pizarro, were in a state of rebellion, and Charles V., anxious to establish there a stable government, requested Mendoza to accept the viceroyalty of Peru, where on the 21st of July, 1552, he breathed his last

WINGED GLOBE FROM OCOCINGO, CHIAPAS.

CHAPTER XXIV.

SPANISH CRUELTIES AND THE NEW LAWS.

About the year 1541, the Milanese chronicler, Girolamo Benzoni, journeying across the isthmus of Panamá in company with a party of Spaniards, entered some Indian huts to obtain a supply of provisions. The inmates, he relates, thinking they were about to be enslaved, attacked them savagely with hands and teeth, tearing their clothes, spitting in their faces, uttering doleful cries, and exclaiming, "Guacci! guacci!" which Benzoni interprets as "the name of a quadruped that prowls by night in search of prey." One of them, who afterward consented to act as guide, informed the travellers that there were no other Indian habitations on their line of route, for the Spaniards had either killed or made slaves of the entire population.

In Honduras, slaves were kidnapped and sold by the shipload, so that in the neighborhood of Trujillo, where formerly might be seen Indian villages with from 600 to 3,000 houses, there were in 1547 not more than 180 persons left. At a coast town named La Haga, nine leagues from Trujillo, and containing 900 dwellings, there was but a single inhabitant, all of them having been sold into bondage.

Cruel as was the treatment of the natives in every part of the Spanish provinces, nowhere was oppression carried to such an extreme as in Guatemala. Here, little distinction was made between the allies and the conquered races, even the faithful Tlascaltecs, many of whom had settled, after the Conquest, at Almalonga, being enslaved, overworked, and maltreated, until in 1547 there were barely a hundred survivors.

If such was the treatment to which the most steadfast allies of the Spaniards were exposed in time of peace, what fell

cruelties may we not suppose were inflicted on those who, undeterred by defeat, rose again and again upon their oppressors? No words can depict the miseries of these hapless creatures. Wholesale slaughter, hanging and burning, torturing, mutilating, and branding, followed the suppression of a revolt; while starvation, exhaustion, blows, and fainting under intolerable burdens were their lot in time of peace.

During the life-time of Pedro de Alvarado, the waste of life in Guatemala and elsewhere in Central America was wanton and most sickening. While in the field, starving auxilaries were fed on human flesh, captives being butchered like cattle, children were killed and roasted, and even when food was plentiful, human beings were slaughtered that their hands and feet might be served up as delicacies to Indian warriors. Nor were the families of the natives more respected than if they had been by nature the brutes which the Spaniards made of them in practice. Households were desolated, wives being torn from husbands and daughters from parents, to be distributed among the soldiers and sailors, while boys were put to work at the gold mines, there to perish by the thousand.

As early as 1525, tidings reached the emperor of the terrible rapidity with which depopulation was progressing; and on the 17th of November in that year, he issued a cédula for the protection of the fast-decreasing races. In 1519, the Council of the Indies was ordered to draw up regulations for the better government of the Spanish provinces, and that body issued a decree, in which, while the protection of the monarch's interests was of course a prominent feature, sympathy and moderation were enjoined toward the natives. But, as we have seen, royal cédulas counted for little with the Spaniards, their conduct in this respect reminding us somewhat of the Russian slave-owners in Alaska, among whom a favorite remark was: "Heaven is high above, and the tzar is far away."

In the year 1542, a Dominican friar named Bartolomé de las Casas placed in the hands of Charles V. the manuscript of his work entitled, "A History and Very Brief Account of the De-

struction of Western India," the book being published in Spanish and Italian, and a similar volume issued in Latin in 1564. Through the exertions of this never-tiring missionary, a junta composed of jurists and ecclesiastics assembled at Valladolid, before which the great apostle of the Indies pleaded his favorite cause with all the fire of his eloquence, urging that the natives of the New World were free by the laws of nature and of nature's God.

The ordinances framed by the junta received the emperor's approval; and after being somewhat amplified, were published in Madrid in 1543, and were thenceforth known as the New Laws. The code contained a large number of articles, whereby it was enacted, among other provisions, that all Indian slaves should be released, unless their owners could establish a legal title to their possession, and that none should thenceforth be enslaved under any pretext.

This measure caused much loss and annoyance to the Spaniards, although, in portions of Spanish America, the labor of African negroes was substituted in part for that of natives, especially at the mines, where excessive toil, exposure, and inhuman treatment had caused a fearful rate of mortality. There were other clauses in the code which were equally distasteful. The audiencia of Panamá, organized in 1533, was abolished, and two other tribunals were established, one in Peru, at the city of Los Reyes, which about this date was first called Lima, and the other, named the audiencia de Los Confinos, or audiencia of the Boundaries, at Comayagua, then near the border line between Guatemala and Honduras. The latter, which was afterward removed to Gracias á Dios, and thence to Santiago de Guatemala, held jurisdiction over Chiapas, Yucatan, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, and the province of Castilla del Oro, the limits of which were similar to those of the modern department of Panamá, but extending farther toward the south. From the decisions of these courts, and from those of the audiencias of New Spain and Santo Domingo, there was in criminal cases no appeal. In civil actions, the

losing party could demand a new trial, the benefit of which, however, is not apparent, as new evidence was not admitted, and the cause was tried by the oidores who rendered the first judgment.

To the new laws may be attributed in part the insurrection in Peru, which was broken by the defeat and execution of Gonzalo Pizarro in 1550, and the revolt of Hernan and Pedro de Contreras in Nicaragua, during the same year. Though in New Spain there was no overt rebellion, discontent was none the less widely seated.

At the first, Las Casas attempted to enforce the provisions of the code; but soon it became virtually inoperative, and a few years later was repealed. In 1547, he embarked for Spain; but the revocation of the new laws, of which he must have heard before his departure, proved a death-blow to his hopes. During the first two years after his arrival, all his efforts on behalf of the natives produced only a few unimportant decrees. Later, he retired to the college of San Gregorio de Valladolid, still continuing, however, to take a deep interest in the affairs of the Indies. From this retreat he soon afterward came forth to defend the principles which it had been his life-labor to maintain.

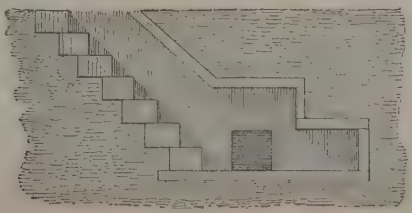
In 1555, Philip II., who had recently succeeded to the throne of Spain, proposed to sell the right of the crown to the reversion of encomiendas, that is, virtually, to the slaves of deceased Spaniards in the New World. In Spain, an encomienda was a dignity in one of the military orders, endowed with a rental, and bestowed by the crown on certain members of the order as a reward for services in the wars against the Moors. In the Indies, the word signified the ownership conferred by royal favor of a number of natives, coupled with the obligation to teach them the doctrines of the church, and to defend their persons and property, though, as we have seen, this obligation was seldom fulfilled.

Las Casas foresaw that the measure proposed by his sovereign would doom the Indians to perpetual slavery, and at once

resolved to exert all his influence to prevent it. Through the king's confessor, who had written to him on the subject, he made a bold and earnest appeal to the royal conscience. The appeal was not in vain, and thus he helped to pave the way for the final emancipation of the natives. He did not, however, live to see his purpose accomplished, for, being seized with a severe sickness at Madrid, when in his ninety-second year, he breathed his last in July 1566, and was buried with becoming honors in the convent chapel of Our Lady of Atocha.

Judged by his works, the apostle of the Indies was one of the greatest men of his age. His compassion for the natives, and his abhorrence for their oppressors, were increased from year to year by his failure to alleviate their sufferings, until they became the all-absorbing idea which colored his every act and word. In pursuit of this idea no obstacle could intimidate him. He hesitated not, in the advocacy of his cause, to brave the anger of an emperor, or the frenzy of an excited populace, and for that cause he suffered insult, persecution, the loss of friends, the enmity of his countrymen.

If by his contemporaries he has been accused, not without reason, of harshness, arrogance, uncharitableness, these faults were probably due to the intolerant spirit of his order, rather than to defects inherent in the man. The purity of his motives none can doubt, and while no defence can shield his adversaries from the charges of injustice and cruelty, the errors of Bartolomé de las Casas have been forgotten, and his spirit of noble self-devotion and high-souled philanthropy have stamped him as one of the foremost benefactors of his age.



Section of Aztec Tomb at Chila Puebla.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE CONQUEST OF YUCATAN.

To describe all the expeditions of the Spaniards in quest of gold and slaves, and for the acquisition of new territory, would

BUILDING AT COZUMEL.

be but a tiresome and fruitless task. During the sixteenth century, the dominion of New Spain was extended, as appears

in the accompanying map, from the gulf of Honduras, northward beyond the twenty-eighth parallel, the most difficult portion of the task being the conquest of Yucatan.

In 1526, Francisco de Montejo, whom Bernal Diaz describes as a man of medium stature and pleasing appearance, one fond of pleasure, lavish of expense, and an indifferent soldier, was appointed governor and adelantado, or captain-general, of Yucatan. An expedition was fitted out, and on reaching the island of Cozumel, the Spaniards, whose forces mustered about four hundred, were received with all outward show of friendship. Arriving at the mainland, they disembarked without opposition, and unfurled the royal banner of Spain amid cries of "España! España! viva España!" The natives looked on with seeming indifference, but indifference feigned only for the purpose of luring them inland and cutting off their retreat to the ships.

The country was rugged, difficult, and all but unknown to the Spaniards; of rivers there were none, and soon provisions began to run short. On reaching the village of Choaco, where the adelantado hoped to obtain supplies, he found the place deserted, no morsel of food being left. Here the men rested for several days, and then, worn and spiritless, resumed their journey, advancing northward without fear of opposition to the town of Aké.

As yet, however, they knew little of the character and disposition of the natives. There were, among Montejo's command, some who had borne the brunt of the fight during the darkest hours of the Noche Triste; but even these veterans had not beheld a more appalling sight than that which faced them when, on the dawn of a wintry day, toward the close of 1527, they drew near to the town of Aké. Hordes of Indians, hideous in their war-paint, "came forth," says the historian Oviedo, "like fiercest devils from their lurking-place." So vast was their number that all the caciques of the province appeared to have massed their forces for the coming struggle. Nor could they have selected a spot more favorable for a battle-

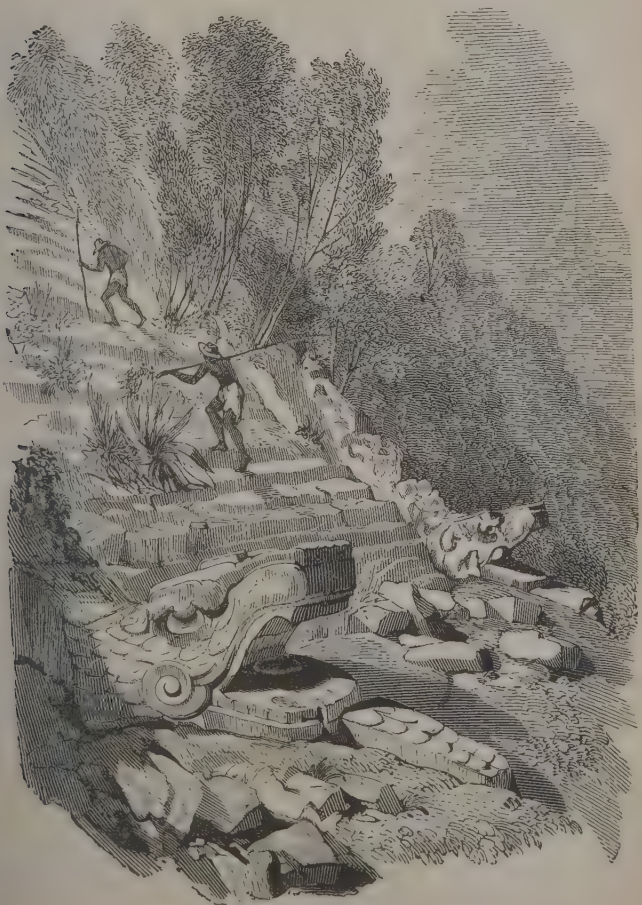
field. The ground was narrow, unfavorable for the action of cavalry, and such that the Spaniards, being unable to deploy their ranks, could make but little use of their fire-arms, and were in danger of being crushed by the weight of the enemy's columns.

While Montejo was speaking words of cheer to his men, and bidding them stand firm before the shock, his voice was lost in the uproar of the oncoming masses, as they mingled with their war-cries the shrill blasts of conch-shell trumpets. Flights of arrows were aimed at the Spaniards at short range, and the next moment, their lances pointed with sharpened flint, and wielding double-handed swords of hardest wood, the Indians grappled with the foe. Nevertheless, the adelantado held his ground, and beating back the assailants, let loose at them his cavalry and blood-hounds. The horsemen were in turn pushed back by weight of numbers, and again the natives advanced to the attack.

Thus till dark the combat lasted, neither side gaining decisive advantage. The night was spent by the Spaniards in dressing their wounds, and obtaining what little rest they could, the Indians meanwhile receiving fresh re-enforcements. With the morning the conflict was renewed, and until mid-day the scale of victory hung in the balance, when, the natives falling back in some confusion, Montejo ordered a final charge on their ranks, and they were put to flight. The Spaniards, too exhausted for pursuit, flung themselves on the ground amid the corpses of 1,200 of the enemy, having lost one third of their own number during the battle.

No further resistance was offered, and the adelantado, taking possession of the town of Aké, remained there during the winter. Breaking camp early in 1528, he put his troops in motion towards Chichen Itzá,—two Indian words signifying mouths of the wells. Here he pressed into his service a number of natives, and erected a fort and dwellings of timber. No outward signs of dissatisfaction were shown, the inhabitants submitting patiently to the bondage from which, for the moment, they could not escape.

If this expedition had been in charge of an able leader, it would probably have been successful; but Montejo was unfitted for command. Already he had allowed himself to be surprised,



SERPENT BALUSTRADE AT CHICHEN ITZÁ.

and now, surrounded as he was by bands of hostile Indians, whom he imagined to be cowed into subjection, he committed the fatal blunder of dividing his forces. A rumor was current throughout his camp—one raised doubtless by the natives for the purpose of hastening his overthrow—that in the district of Bacalar rich gold mines were to be found. Yielding to the clamor of his men, the adelantado despatched in that direction the contador Alonso de Ávila, his second in command, with a band of fifty foot and seventeen horse.

Arriving at Chablé, a town many leagues distant from Montejo's headquarters, and one where gold was said to exist, the Spaniards commenced their search, but found no trace of the precious metal. Meeting here, however, with outward show of friendship, and even with friendly services, the contador sent messengers to the lord of Chetumal, a region said to be auriferous, asking for information as to the mines, and for a supply of provisions. The reply was stern, and severely laconic. "Of gold," said he of Chetumal, "I scorn to speak; of fowls, you shall have all that you can take from the points of our lances; and we will send you maize in the shape of flights of arrows."

Ávila was an officer whose courage none disputed, but one sorely wanting in discretion, the quality which is deemed valor's counterpart. Although under strict orders from Montejo to use only peaceful measures, he set forth at once with half his slender force to punish the proud chieftain of Chetumal, who dared thus to hurl foul scorn on Christian warriors. Approaching his town, the Spaniards found their path barred by far-spreading swamps and lagoons, across which, with much difficulty, they made their way in canoes. Soon they came in sight of ripening fields of maize and fruit and cacao, and after halting for a brief space to refresh themselves, advanced to give battle. But in their revenge, as in their lust for gold, they were disappointed. The lord of Chetumal had fled.

The contador took up his quarters in the principal town, which contained about 2,000 houses, and was but two leagues

distant from the sea. Then, being joined by the remainder of his force, he resolved to establish there a Spanish settlement, giving to it the name of Villa Real. What fairer or safer spot could be found for the site of a new colony? The cacique had every chance of making good his boast, when the Spaniards were crossing the lagoons in their frail canoes, and could make little use of their weapons; but thus far, he had merely skulked as a fugitive from his capital without striking a blow for its defence.

Ávila was soon to learn, however, that the lord of Chetumal was no idle braggart. Allying himself with the caciques of the neighboring districts, he assembled his forces for a purpose which the Spaniards could not fathom, since he did not venture an attack. Meanwhile, the contador was somewhat ill at ease, and resolving to open communications with the adelantado, despatched six messengers to his camp, ordering them to return within sixty days. But the messengers did not return, and if we can believe the historian Oviedo, they were massacred, some few leagues from Villa Real, while seated at supper in fancied security.

Many weeks elapsed,—weary weeks of waiting,—and now the Spaniards were surrounded by countless hordes of Indians, who began to harass them in almost daily encounters. Nevertheless, the contador remained at his post, constantly expecting aid from Montejo, though none came, nor any tidings from Chichen Itzá. Ammunition was nearly exhausted, and the beleaguered troops began to look upon themselves as doomed, for the foe attacked them incessantly, showing no signs of fear. There remained but one hope of escape, and that was to cut their way out of the place without further delay.

In sorry plight, Ávila's band set forth to traverse the sixty leagues that separated them from their comrades. All along their route were evidences of a wide-spread plan to exterminate them. Some of the towns were abandoned; others had been secretly fortified; no provisions could be found, and as the Spaniards retreated, hostilities became more active, until

at length, being driven back on one of the deserted villages, and hemmed in on all sides, they abandoned themselves to despair. At this juncture an Indian, whose life the contador had saved, led them in the silence of the night by an unfrequented path through the woods. Still they were pursued,

WATCH-TOWER ON THE COAST OF YUCATAN.

and their progress disputed at every step. Seeing no hope of escape by land, the survivors were compelled to fight their way to the coast, where, finding some canoes, they proceeded along the shore, living on berries and shell-fish, until at length they arrived at Trujillo, on the coast of Honduras.

Meanwhile, nothing was known by the adelantado of the fate of Ávila's command. Surrounded by hordes of hostile

Indians, he was cut off from his base of supplies. His foraging parties were captured or driven back, and his men were seldom allowed to consume their scanty meal of roots and horse-flesh without being forced to exchange shots with the enemy. During this ceaseless warfare, many deeds of bravery and skill are recorded on both sides. "One of the Spanish archers," says the chronicler Cogolludo, who in 1688 published a history of Yucatan, "caused great annoyance to the natives, pointing his shafts with unerring aim at their leaders. Thereupon, an Indian, equally dexterous in the use of the bow, approached the marksman with seeming indifference, and with a well-directed shot wounded him in the arm, being hit almost simultaneously with a dart from the cross-bow of the Castilian. The Indian was severely wounded in the breast, but rather than have it said that he had died at the hands of a Spaniard, withdrew and hanged himself." Such was the patriotism of these peninsular warriors; and yet Cogolludo is at a loss to understand why they were so relentless in their warfare upon the invaders.

At length a pitched battle was fought, one of the severest struggles recorded in the annals of Indian warfare. The Spaniards had no alternative but to meet the foe on the open plain, where an immense multitude had assembled, intent on crushing the remnant of their forces. The result was indecisive; but when the latter returned to camp, they left 150 of their number dead on the field, few of the survivors escaping unwounded.

After this engagement, Montejo's only thought was to save himself and the remainder of his troops. But how, when thus beset, were his wounded men to be conveyed across the many leagues of rugged country that separated them from their ships? The men had wellnigh given themselves up for lost, when one of their number bethought himself of a ruse, which is usually attributed to the adelantado, but was probably the invention of some more ingenious brain. Tying a hungry dog to the tongue of a large bell suspended from the limb of a tree, they

placed food above him, but beyond his reach. Then, after reconnoitring the enemy's camp, they crept forth stealthily, under cover of night, directing their march toward the sea.

Coast of Yucatan.

Meanwhile, the dog, as he strove to follow them, rang the bell; and reaching up for his food, renewed the ringing, giving assurance to the Indians that the foe was on the alert. Thus some hours were gained; and when the trick was discovered, the Spaniards had made good their escape.

Without proceeding further with the story of Montejo's expedition, which at this point becomes somewhat intermingled with the affairs of Tabasco and of Honduras, it may be said that before the end of 1535 not a single Spaniard was left in Yucatan. A few years later the conquest of the province was effected, with the assistance of the adelantado's son, to whom the former transferred most of his powers and privileges; but the subjugation of this sterile peninsula cost more lives than had been expended in wresting from the Incas and the Montezumas the wealthiest empires of the western world.

PAINTED BOAT IN THE GYMNASIUM AT CHICHEN ITZA.

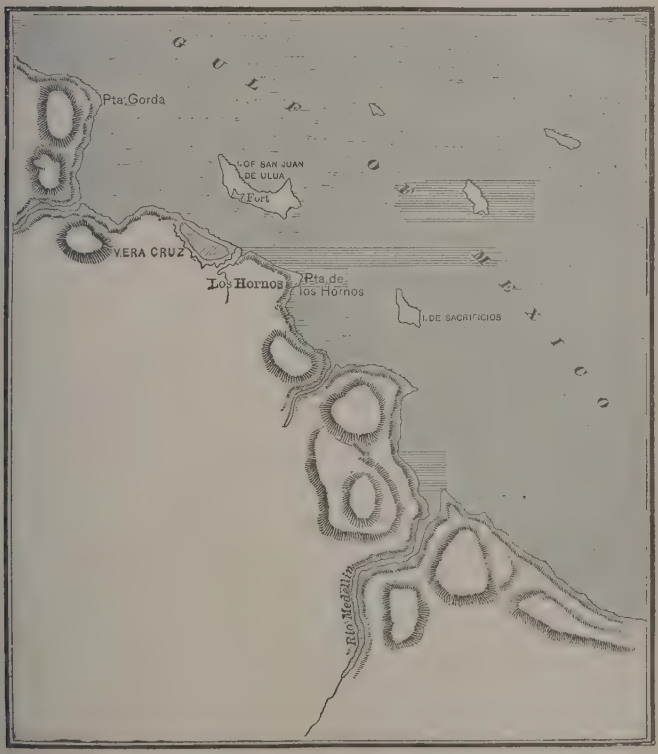
CHAPTER XXVI.

THE SACK OF VERA CRUZ.

During the administration of the viceroys, there were few recorded incidents worthy of mention, one vicegerent succeeding to another, as did the kings of Israel, in long, dull, and monotonous reign. There was little to relate, and of that little the most interesting portions have been suppressed. In relating this period of Mexican history, I shall present, therefore, only its principal features, and the reader who is curious as to the names of the various rulers will find a list of them, with dates appended, and a brief statement of the leading incidents of their reign, in the appendix of this work. Many of them were capable and upright men, better, perhaps, than were their sovereigns; but as with royalty, so with viceroyalty, he who is disposed to search out faults will not search in vain.

Among the prominent events of this period may be mentioned the sack of Vara Cruz, in the year 1683, by a party of filibusters, as pirates were termed in a corruption of the French word *flibustiers*, as in English, buccaneers, and as in Dutch, sea-rovers. The raids of Francois L'Olonnois in Honduras, Guatemala, and Costa Rica; of Morgan on the isthmus of Panamá; of Dampier at Realejo and the Pearl Islands; and of Captain Bartholomew Sharp and others,—are well known to all who are acquainted with the history of the New World. Between 1680 and 1687 the principal towns of Central America were continually infested by freebooters. Vera Cruz and other points in New Spain were also threatened, and the viceroy ordered that no vessel should leave port without permission. This measure remedied the evil to some extent; but still the corsairs lurked among the innumerable islands and reefs of the Bahama channel, through which vessels must pass on their homeward voyage.

Toward sunset, on the 17th of May, 1683, two large vessels, displaying Spanish colors, approached the city of Vera Cruz, crowding all sail, for a league or two farther out at sea was



PLAN OF VERA CRUZ.

a strong squadron in pursuit. At nightfall, the Spaniards on the island of San Juan de Ulúa and on the mainland lighted fires to guide them into harbor, for they were supposed to be ships laden with cacao, then due from the coast of Caracas. The pursuing squadron changed its course when the

two ships neared the island fortress, casting anchor a short distance from the city. Meanwhile, the townsfolk went to vespers, as was their custom, no danger being apprehended.

About an hour after midnight, a few musket-shots were heard, but the inhabitants, supposing that a salute was being given to some prominent citizen, remained quietly in bed. The town was well garrisoned; the castle of San Juan de Ulúa was the strongest fort in the New World, and a fleet laden with merchandise was daily expected from Seville. Never, for years, had the citizens been more free from alarm than when, at sunrise, the church bells tolled for matins and the devout set forth to obey the summons. But no matins were said that morning, for those who first appeared in the streets found them guarded by parties of armed men; and soon the dread news spread throughout the city that pirates were in possession of Vera Cruz.

The filibusters had ascertained from prisoners captured off the coast that the two ships laden with cacao were hourly expected at Vera Cruz, and this information had suggested the stratagem. On board the two vessels was the main body of the pirates, and during the night nearly 800 had landed within a league of Vera Cruz, crept stealthily on the city, surprised the forts, and made themselves masters of the place, with the loss of only four men.

It had been suggested by Lorencillo, one of the commanders, that a detachment should attempt the surprise of the fortress, and if his advice had been taken, the pirates might have remained masters of Vera Cruz long enough to exact an enormous ransom.

Laurent, or as he is called by the chroniclers, Lorencillo, is described as a tall, well-proportioned man, light-haired, and comely of aspect, a generous ruffian withal, and one very popular among his comrades. He was in fact the beau-ideal corsair. It is not recorded that he was guilty of such diabolic atrocities as were ascribed to Morgan and L'Olonnois; but if we can believe the chroniclers, his deeds were sufficiently

atrocious. It is related that when a boy he was severely punished by an alcalde of Tabasco. Vowing vengeance, he disappeared, and not long afterward returned with a gang of malefactors, and sacked the town. The story, as related by Esquemelin, one of the corsair fraternity, and probably the true version, is, that being captured by pirates, he consented to join the "brethren of the coast," as buccaneer, filibuster, and sea-rover were pleased to style each other. Esquemelin, who wrote a history of the corsairs, describes Laurent, his favorite hero, as a true gentleman, and assures us that his only fault was a habit of swearing a little too frequently.

The advice of Lorencillo was deemed too hazardous, and it was resolved by the pirates to plunder the town, and make good their retreat as speedily as possible. The doors of the houses were battered in, and the panic-stricken inhabitants dragged forth, without ragard to age, sex, or condition, into the public square. Soon afterward they were lodged in the principal churches, where, before nine o'clock, more than 6,000 persons were imprisoned, most of them being placed in the parish church. For three days and nights they were kept without food or drink, while the buccaneers plundered the city, and when at length water was given to them, many died from drinking immoderately. Meanwhile the ruffians who kept guard over them mocked at the wailings of the women as they begged of them in vain to save the lives of their little ones. The captives were told that they were all to be burned alive, this threat being made for the purpose of extorting ransom, and barrels of powder were placed at the doors of the parish church to blow up the building in case of resistance.

A quantity of plate was found in the churches, and the altars and sacred images were stripped of every article of value; but these formed only a portion of the spoils, for the pirates secured large amounts of specie, bullion, and merchandise, which had arrived at Vera Cruz in transit for Spain. The freebooters were not yet satisfied, however, and suspecting that some of the wealthier citizens had secreted their treasure,

put several to the torture, again threatening to burn the parish church and its inmates unless they delivered up all their valuables. Thereupon, one of the priests ascended the pulpit, and besought the captives to surrender their property in order to save their lives. Thus a further large amount was obtained, and for the ransom of the governor, who was found hidden under a grass-heap in his stable, was paid the sum of $70,000.

Troops of mounted Spaniards now appeared on the outskirts of the city, and occasionally made a dash at the pirates, but did not venture on an organized attack. It was observed, however, that their numbers were constantly increasing. Moreover, a fleet from Spain, laden with merchandise, was

Earthen Vase—Isle of Sacrifices.

daily expected, and the corsairs deemed it prudent to depart. The spoils were therefore removed to the Isla de Sacrificios, or Isle of Sacrifices, off which the fleet was stationed. All the negroes and mulattoes of both sexes, and some of the Spaniards, were taken from the churches to be used as pack-animals. The latter were not accustomed to such work, and being enfeebled by fasting, could barely stagger under their burdens, though urged on by the merciless blows of their captors. Not even yet were the pirates satisfied. About 1500 prisoners, including the governor and the leading citizens, were conveyed to the island, and a ransom of $150,000 demanded, under threat that twelve of the principal Spaniards, who meanwhile were to be held as hostages, would be put to death in case of non-payment.

Haggard and gaunt with hunger after their four days' imprisonment in the stifling and fetid atmosphere of the crowded churches, the captives were in a pitiable condition; but further suffering was in store for them. Before being taken to the island, they were stripped of everything that they possessed, even to the piece of straw matting which at night had served them for bedding. Their food was of the coarsest, and barely sufficient to sustain life, a supply of provisions sent to them from the city being appropriated by the pirates. They were constantly exposed to threats and insults, and most of them expected only death, or, as a worse alternative, a life of hopeless captivity. For ten days they remained on the island, until the ransom was paid, about mid-day on the second Sunday after the capture of Vera Cruz. The Spaniards who had been held as hostages were then released; the negroes and mulattoes were placed on board the fleet, and the buccaneers prepared to set sail.

During the afternoon a double guard was set over the remaining prisoners; the rude huts which they had erected to screen them from the sun and dew were destroyed; and the pirates, brandishing their weapons, never ceased to menace them, in the hope of yet extorting a further ransom. The threats were not executed, however, and at night all the freebooters withdrew, for their vessels were now ready for sea. The following morning, a boat's crew returned to take on board another load of captives, but found that they had all concealed themselves. The governor and two friars were captured, however, and having no time for further search, the pirates carried them off to their vessels, though the former was afterward released.

No sooner had the ransom been paid than the fleet from Spain appeared in sight. Thereupon, the governor of San Juan de Ulúa at once despatched a boat to the admiral, proposing to make a combined attack on the corsairs, who now put to sea, not waiting even to take in water, or a supply of fresh meat. But the Spaniards let slip their opportunity, for, like

the Austrians in the days of Bonaparte, they knew not the value of minutes. If a prompt and vigorous attack had been made on the overladen ships of the freebooters, it would probably have been successful; but instead of taking instant action, a council of officers was summoned, and while they were yet in deliberation, the pirates made good their escape.

Before leaving the island, a partition was made of the spoils, which were divided into 1,200 shares, and it was found that each share amounted to 800 pesos, the total being valued at 960,000 pesos. Van Horn, the commander-in-chief, demanded for himself 80 shares, or 64,000 pesos, whereupon a quarrel arose with Lorencillo, who was dissatisfied with the distribution, and the dispute ended in a duel, in which the former was wounded in the wrist. He paid little attention to the hurt, for trifling wounds were disregarded among his fraternity; but this neglect cost him his life. His wrist grew worse; soon mortification set in, and when fifteen days out at sea, his corpse was thrown overboard off Cape Yucatan.

No attempt was made to pursue or punish the marauders, the Spaniards contenting themselves with offering up thanks to the Almighty for their deliverance, while an order was issued that in all churches, chapels, and convents, founded by the crown, a solemn annual mass should be celebrated in token of gratitude "for the happy event of the flight of Lorencillo." During the raid, there perished more than 300 of the inhabitants, and many of the survivors were reduced to beggary, the entire loss amounting to several millions of dollars. None of the buildings were destroyed, but all were more or less injured, and most of them were found in a filthy condition, several monks being required to purify the churches. The streets were choked with garbage and the air was poisoned with the stench of decomposed bodies.

For many years piratical raids were continued in various portions of the New World, the name of Lorencillo being especially remembered with terror by the people of New Spain. Such was the dread which he inspired that life and property

were no longer considered safe in Vera Cruz, and when foreign vessels appeared in sight, the inhabitants fled in terror to the woods. Many took up their abode elsewhere, and within fifty years after the events above recorded, the population, apart from the garrison, was reduced to about 3,000 persons.

Soon, however, Vera Cruz recovered its prosperity. In 1777 it contained not less than 7,000 inhabitants, and at the close of the eighteenth century, more than 35,000, of whom about

PROVINCE OF VERA CRUZ.

20,000 were permanent residents, the remainder consisting of sailors, soldiers, muleteers, servants, passengers, and non-resident tradesmen. The inhabitants were quiet, orderly, and peaceable, property of all kinds being secure, and few precautions needed for its safe-keeping. There were no beggars in the streets, and few criminals in the public jail. The poorer classes were all employed in some useful occupation, and among the citizens were not a few who had amassed fortunes

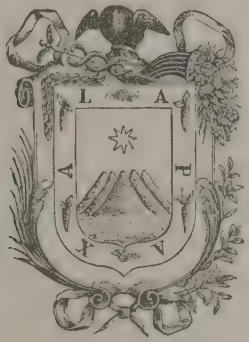
in commercial pursuits. The government employees, both civil and military, performed their duties faithfully, and were accorded the consideration due to their rank. The church was well supported, and the religious orders were among the largest property holders in the province.

Next in importance to the capital of the province was the town of Córdoba, founded in 1618, and containing, in 1776, about 700 families. Most of the houses were of stone; the streets were wide, regular, and well paved, and a plentiful supply of water was obtained from the mountain streams in the neighborhood. The surrounding vegetation was rich, and of many hues, and on its deep soil of red clay were produced most of the tropical and subtropical fruits. The raising of tobacco and sugar, of which plantations were first established early in the seventeenth century, was still the leading industry; but here, as elsewhere in New Spain, nature was so prodigal of her gifts that little exertion was needed on the part of man, and many of the Spaniards became wealthy almost without an effort. Although in 1790, an earthquake demolished or destroyed many of the buildings, the town appears to have steadily increased in prosperity, for twenty years later it contained at least 8,000 inhabitants.

Among the most flourishing towns in the province was Jalapa, where, between 1720 and 1777, the annual fair was held on the arrival of the yearly fleet laden with merchandise from Spain. Before the former date, half a dozen commercial houses had monopolized the entire trade of the surrounding district, but a few years later, goods to the value of $30,000,000 changed hands at each fair. This increased circulation of wealth caused the people to lay aside their simple habits, and to adopt the dress, amusements, and many of the vices of the Spaniards in the Old World. In 1794, Jalapa was declared a city, and together with Córdoba and Orizaba was a favorite summer resort for the merchants of Vera Cruz.

Orizaba stood on the high road from Mexico to Vera Cruz, being distant about forty-six leagues from the former city, and

thirty-eight from the latter. It was situated in a beautiful valley, and surrounded with forest-clad mountains, high above which towered the snow-capped volcano of Orizaba. So luxu-



Coat of Arms, Jalapa.

riant was the surrounding vegetation, that a square league of land sufficed for the pasturage of about 7,000 sheep. Here was a halting-place for caravans laden with merchandise, and the point where goods in transit were appraised. In 1877, its population mustered about 4,500, of which it was estimated that nearly 3,000 were Spaniards, or of Spanish descent.

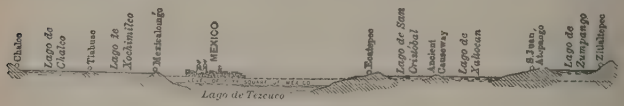
Of the founding and progress of other settlements in various portions of New Spain, mention will be made in the closing chapters of this work.

Ancient Tomb at Misantla, Vera Cruz.

CHAPTER XXVII.

FLOOD, FAMINE, AND RIOT.

MANY times during the viceregal period, the city of Mexico and its vicinity were subject to disastrous floods. In 1607 was begun the famous drainage-work of Huehuetoca, projected by Viceroy Enriquez in 1580, whereby it was hoped to obtain relief from such inundations as before this date had caused oft-repeated misery. In the autumn of 1604, excessive rains had caused serious damage, leaving some portions of the city under water for a year. So discouraged were the inhabitants that they seriously considered the expediency of removing the site of the capital to the adjacent hills of Tacubaya; but prop-



SURFACES OF LAKES.

erty owners, who had more than $20,000,000 at stake, succeeded in preventing the change.

The valley of Mexico lies more than 7,000 feet above the sea-level, in a vast basin enclosed by porphyritic ranges, from whose slopes a number of rivers unite to form four groups of lakes, the Chalco-Xochimilco, Tezcuco, Cristóbal, and Zumpango. The first was a fresh-water body, lying two varas higher than Lake Tezcuco, above the level of which the two last rose toward the north in their terrace-beds four and ten feet, respectively. During the rainy season, the excess of water overflowed into Lake Cristóbal, which again discharged into Lake Tezcuco, causing its waters to rise considerably. At certain periods, once in twenty-five years on an average, this overflow proved destructive, especially to the capital, whose

main square lay barely four feet above the lake. Taught by experience, the Aztecs had sought to control these waters by means of dikes, not only around the city, but on the northern lakes, which were also divided into sections by transverse causeways. Various expedients were suggested, and it was finally resolved to conduct, by means of a canal, a portion of the waters of Lake Zumpango, or rather of its principal tributary, to the lowlands of the Huehuetoca, about ten leagues distant from the capital. Thence a tunnel was to be constructed, more than a league in length, four varas in height and five in width, connected by a canal with the Rio Tula.

In May 1608, the first canal was compeleted, and on the 17th of September in the same year the waters first passed through the tunnel amid the rejoicings of the people, who had reason to be proud of an engineering feat at that time deemed remarkable. It was not long, however, before the inefficiency of the work became apparent, the conduit being too small, on too high a level, and so poorly vaulted and faced as frequently to choke with its own débris.

In the year 1691, during the second term of Viceroy Gaive s administration, while the citizens of Mexico were holding festival in honor of the marriage of Carlos II., another inundation occurred. On the 9th of June a sudden freshet swept through the valley, carrying away houses and cattle, destroying in its course the wheat crops and the flour stored in the mills, and inundating for a time the western portion of the city. Fortunately additional precautions had been taken against such a catastrophe by the viceroy and several of his predecessors, and the waters quickly subsided.

A month later, however, a more serious flood occurred. On the 11th of July, heavy rains commenced, and continued without interruption until the 22d. The entire valley was inundated, together with a large portion of the city, and communication with the surrounding country was for several days interrupted, thus causing a scarcity of provisions in the capital.

Until the 23d of August the grain crop, in the portion of the

valley which had not been flooded, gave promise of an abundant harvest. But on that date occurred a total eclipse of the sun, accompanied with unusual cold; and if we can believe the chroniclers of this period, the ripening grain was attacked by a species of rust, and the greater part destroyed. The injury ascribed to the eclipse was probably occasioned by the flood, just as similar damage is caused in California and elsewhere by fogs or excessive rains.

With the loss of the wheat crop, the consumption of corn increased, its price being further advanced by the partial failure of the crop, due to excessive moisture and cold. The situation became critical. Maize was the staple food of the natives, and the tortilla had now taken the place of wheaten bread, not only among the laboring classes, but to some extent among the rich.

Murmurs were heard on all sides; and notwithstanding the strenuous efforts of the viceroy to provide a supply of grain, the suspicious and unreasoning populace would not credit the reports as to the failure of the crops, even when a special commissioner was sent to verify them. From the beginning, Galve adopted every measure that prudence and experience could suggest to mitigate the sufferings incidental to a prolonged famine. Officials were despatched throughout the valley, and the interior districts, to purchase all surplus grain, and with orders to seize it if necessary. The sale in the capital of wheat, maize, or flour by private individuals was forbidden, all that could be found being collected by the government for distribution at the public granary. In November 1691, the daily consumption was from 1,000 to 1,300 fanegas, the fanega being equivalent to one bushel and a half, and many of the inhabitants of the valley were compelled to beg for food at the gates of the capital.

In May of the following year an abundant crop was garnered from irrigated lands, and as it was supposed that the prevailing high prices would induce farmers to bring their grain into the city, permission was granted for its unre-

stricted sale. Many, however, sold it elsewhere, and this, together with a partial failure in the remoter districts, occasioned by an early snow-storm, caused the stock of grain to run low toward the end of the month. Vigorous measures were now required, and commissioners were sent to and fro with instructions to confiscate all cereals wherever found. By this time the price of grain had increased so enormously that a load of wheat which usually sold for five dollars could not be purchased for less than twenty-four dollars.

Urged by the pangs of hunger, and by real and fancied grievances, the people were now in a mood which boded ill for the peace and welfare of the capital. Yet although previous outbreaks had shown their turbulent nature, no precaution seems to have been taken to guard against an outbreak. Affairs were ripe for an émeute. The city was divided into nine wards, of which six were inhabited entirely by natives, each of them having its own governor. The total population was more than 140,000, of which the Spaniards and mestizos, mixed races, or offspring of Spaniards and Indian women, formed but a small proportion. Many of the latter were idle and dissolute, and among them was a large admixture of criminals, termed at this period léperos.

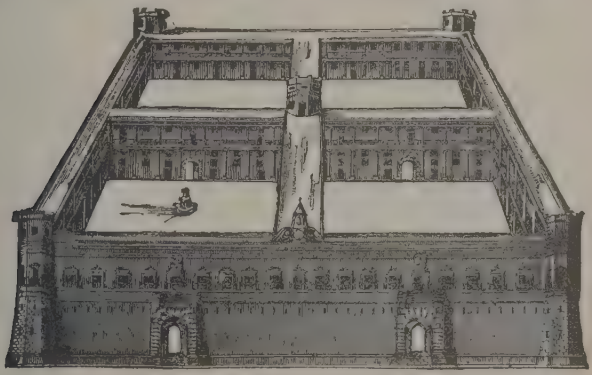
The usual resorts of this class were the booths, where was retailed an intoxicating liquor called pulque, and the baratillo, a collection of shops in the main plaza, where cheap and second-class wares were sold, where stolen goods were disposed of, and where the natives congregated to denounce and plot against the government, free from the interference of officers of justice.

To oppose these dangerous elements, there was in the capital but a single company of infantry, mustering less than a hundred men, who, though doing duty as palace guard, were indifferently armed and equipped. There was probably no artillery, no sufficient store of small-arms and ammunition, and no organized militia. Most of the Spaniards possessed weapons of their own; but as the event proved, they would

PLAN OF THE CITY OF MEXICO.

not act together in time of need. Beyond the city the nearest available troops were the garrisons of Acapulco and Vera Cruz. There was not even an organized police force which could be made available for quelling an ordinary mob

The viceregal palace, as appears in the accompanying plan, was provided with loop-holes for infantry and embrasures for cannon, though there was no artillery in position. In the other buildings of the capital, there was little provision for



GOVERNMENT PALACE, 1692.

defence, except the thick walls of stone or adobe, heavily barred doors, and iron-barred windows, common to most Spanish houses.

In the baratillo were 280 light wooden structures, called cajones, in which native and foreign wares of all descriptions were sold. Among them and scattered over other portions of the public square were numberless booths built of canes and rushes, for the sale of fruit, vegetables, and provisions, giving to this plaza, which was one of the finest in the world, the appearance of an irregular village of huts.

Such was the condition of the capital at the beginning of June 1692. Though the scarcity of grain still continued, a careful distribution of the supply daily received at the granary

sufficed to keep starvation from the city. The rabble, however, became each hour more insolent, and waited only for a pretext to revolt, encouraged, as they were, by the inaction of the authorities, which they construed into fear.

On Friday, the 7th of June, the corn at the public granary was all distributed before six o'clock in the evening, whereupon a crowd of native women who had not yet been served gave vent

GOVERNMENT PALACE, 1887.

to their disappointment in shrill outcries and insulting epithets. On the following day, they were still more disorderly, shouting, jostling, and crowding each other so as to make it impossible to proceed with the distribution. Taking advantage of the confusion, several attempted to help themselves; whereupon one of the officials, finding peaceful measures ineffectual, seized a whip, and laying it on right and left, drove them back. In a few minutes, however, the throng surged forward again, headed by one more daring than the rest. The official again made

use of his whip, and grasping a cane, rained a shower of blows on the head and shoulders of the leader and her companions. Exasperated by this treatment, some 200 of the women rushed across the plaza to the apartments of the archbishop, and thence to the palace of the viceroy, where they were pushed back by the guards. As yet not a single man had joined the multitude, and after some further clamor the tumult ended for the moment.

On the following day, the throng appeared as usual at the granary, and during the early hours there was no disturbance. Orders had been given to the captain of the palace guard to take all needful precautions. Pikes were to be sharpened, ammunition distributed among the troops, and fire-arms kept loaded. Not apprehending danger, the authorities took no further precautions.

The viceroy, however, was ill at ease. Leaving his breakfast untouched, he repaired to the convent of Santo Domingo to hear mass, and his appearance was greeted with a murmur of disapprobation by the assembled worshippers, who regarded him as the cause of all their sufferings. About four o'clock in the afternoon he attended service at the Augustine convent, and thence proceeded, as was his custom, to the convent of San Francisco. After the usual procession, he entered the latter building to converse with the friars, when suddenly the noise of tumult was heard, accompanied with the report of fire-arms. The viceroy arose and stepped forward in the direction of the palace, but was held back by his attendants and by the friars, who, gathering around him, represented the danger of such an attempt, the streets being thronged by frenzied beings hurrying from all quarters to the plaza.

But 500 fanegas of corn had been received this day at the public granary, and about five o'clock in the afternoon the supply was exhausted, though many still remained to be served. While the last of the grain was being measured out, a struggle occurred among the native women for the foremost place, dur-

ing which one of them fell to the ground, and was trampled under foot.

The role of the previous day was again enacted, but with fatal results. The injured woman was carried to the baratillo, and thence to the palace of the archbishop, followed by a howling and exasperated mob of drunken and riotous men. A demand was made to see the prelate, and denied, whereupon his attendants were assailed with the vilest abuse. Growing impatient at his non-appearance, the constantly increasing multitude rushed across the plaza to the viceregal palace, the women taking up a position at the corners of the streets. Then they began to abuse the viceroy in round terms, throwing stones at his apartments, and threatening to burn it down. After some delay, a detachment of the guard, supported by a few volunteers, charged the rioters, driving them toward the stalls and the cathedral cemetery; but being re-enforced, they rallied and drove back their assailants. A few of the guard then ascended to the roof and fired blank cartridges; but this only emboldened the insurgents, who answered with shouts of derision and volleys of stones.

At the moment when the first party was being driven back by weight of numbers, another company of troops came up; but the rioters were now in such force that they were compelled to retire. It was then decided to close the palace doors, which was done in such haste that two or three of the palace guard were shut out, and were seized and torn in pieces. A shout of triumph then arose from the crowd, numbering by this time 10,000 persons. "Death to the viceroy and corregidor!" they cried; "death to those who have all the corn and are killing us with hunger!"

At this juncture, the archbishop approached on foot with uplifted cross, and surrounded by the priests. Little regard was shown for them, however, and missiles fell thick and fast, the prelate and his attendants being finally compelled to withdraw. The guards made no further effort. After some thirty

shots from the roof, firing ceased, many of the soldiers being disabled, and their ammunition exhausted.

The mob now resolved to burn down the palace, no longer fearing those within. Rushes and reeds from the booths in the plaza were heaped against the wooden doors and the torch applied. The city hall was also set on fire, and while some were thus engaged, others seized the coach of the corregidor, or magistrate, whose residence formed a portion of the building, set it ablaze, and with the mules in harness, drove it in triumph round the plaza, finally killing the affrighted animals.

Then followed a scene which no pen can picture. Darkness was creeping over the city, and in the glare of the conflagration, the spacious plaza, thronged but a few hours ago with the wealth and beauty of New Spain, appeared like a hall in Tophet. Filling the square and the adjacent streets, the maddened populace might be seen surging to and fro in dense masses like an angry sea, and above the roar of the flames arose hoarse shouts of exultation as the work of destruction went bravely on. From the palace corridors, the archbishop and his attendants gazed in the silence of despair, while in its neighborhood groups of citizens watched in speechless terror the progress of the flames.

Suddenly the cry was raised, "To the stalls!" "To the stalls!" and instantly the crowd surged in that direction, arming themselves with knives, machetes, and iron bars. And now the rabble became raving maniacs. Houses were broken open and plundered, and the torch applied to the dwellings of friend and foe alike, while rape and massacre spread almost unchecked throughout the city. Gradually the infuriated yells of the mob sunk to a low murderous roar of voices, interrupted only by the crash of falling buildings. Still the flames increased, and by their lurid light could be seen the dusky forms of the rioters flitting to and fro among the buildings, or, laden with plunder, disappearing in the darkness.

A singular phase of riot and robbery is now presented.

Among the rabble are many owners of booths who dare not openly protect their property, but of course cannot witness its destruction with indifference. Merchants yesterday are robbers to-day, and may as well rob each other as be robbed by their comrades. Joining in the attack on their own stalls, they are the first to enter them, and if possible, to seize and carry to a place of safety some of their own effects. Others, pretending an air of resignation, encourage the pillage of their stalls, and then stealthily follow the plunderer and relieve him of his load by a blow or deadly thrust. Many of the rioters are run through, at the junction of the streets with the plaza, by groups of exasperated Spaniards, who are defied with taunts by the passing rabble, and not a few perish in the flames.

It was not yet nine o'clock, and the plaza, which for the last three hours had been thronged with the canaille of the capital, was now almost deserted. Most of the rioters had retired with their spoils, and among those who remained the priests still continued their fruitless exhortations. Despite the efforts of the guard, and of the citizens who had ventured to show themselves, the viceregal palace and city hall were still on fire, and the stalls and booths were one mass of flames.

At this juncture, the count of Santiago, with a number of armed citizens collected by order of the viceroy, appeared in the plaza and opened fire on the remnant of the mob, but desisted at the request of the priests, lest innocent lives should be sacrificed. The riot was now virtually at an end; but on the morrow the sun rose on a mass of smouldering ruins, while the bodies of the dead lay scattered throughout the public square, among the various articles of plunder dropped by the rabble in their flight. The greater portion of the viceregal palace was destroyed, as were the halls of the audiencia, the jail, and several government offices, containing many valuable documents. The city hall was in ruins, and with it perished the greater portion of the public archives. The granary and the adjoining buildings also suffered; and but for the timely

efforts of the cathedral treasurer, the fire would probably have extended to the cathedral and the palace of the archbishop.

But let it not be supposed that because freebooters sometimes came to the coast of Mexico, and there was an occasional flood, famine, and riot, such were the normal conditions of affairs through the long viceregal period. The three centuries of colonial rule in New Spain were marked by a monotony so dead, a society so stagnant, as almost to bring about a lapse into barbarism of the Europeans here vegetating. The rule of the Spanish sovereigns was for the most part so complete that the inhabitants hardly knew by what omnipotent influence they were held in position.

MEXICAN BEGGAR.

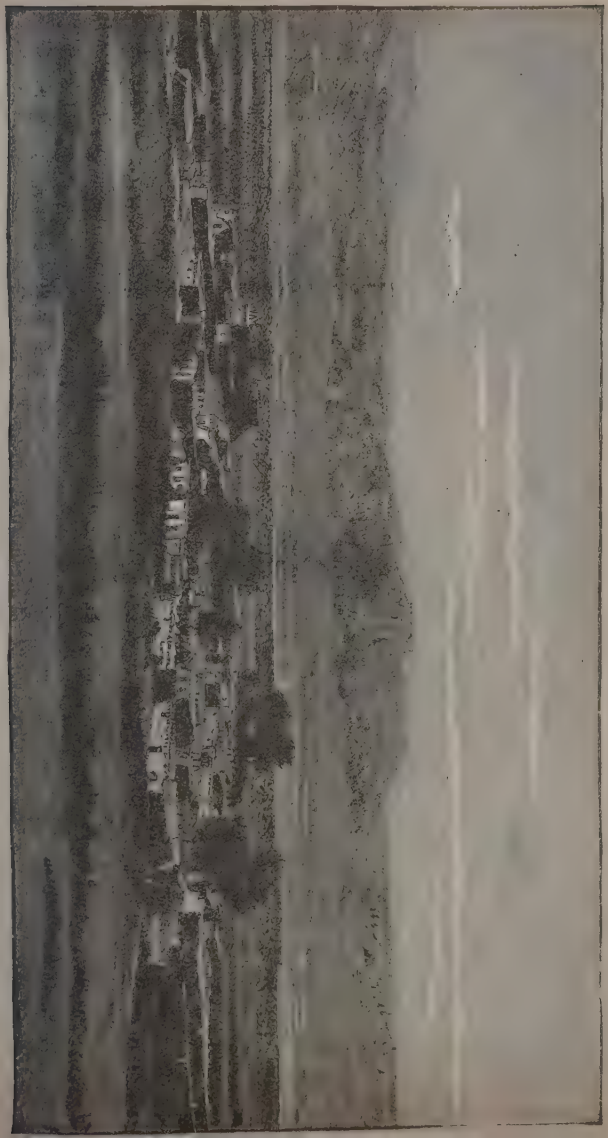
CHAPTER XXVIII.

SOCIETY DURING THE VICEREGAL PERIOD.

In closing this brief sketch of the viceregal period, a few statements as to the condition and customs of the people at the opening of the nineteenth century, the classes and castes into which they were divided, and the effect of some three centuries of Spanish domination may not be without interest.

About the year 1810, the population of Mexico, as we will henceforth term New Spain, was estimated at 6,122,354; but these figures included the inhabitants of Upper and Lower California, and of portions of Texas. The domain of the Spaniards in North America consisted of the intendencias of Mexico, Guadalajara, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Merida, Oajaca, Guanajuato, Valladolid, San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas, the word 'intendencia' signifying a district under the charge of an intendant, or manager. There were also the provinces of Nuevo Leon, Nuevo Santander, Coahuila, Durango, Arizpe, Nuevo Mexico, the two Californias, the two Floridas, Texas, and the islands of Cuba and Portorico. Thus it will be seen that, including their possessions in Central America, extending from the isthmus of Panamá to the southern boundary of Mexico, the Spaniards held at least nominal sway over nearly all the best portions of the Pacific coast of North America. Not satisfied with this vast extent of territory, they claimed even a part of Russian America, or Alaska, as this region was termed after its purchase by the United States, near the coast of which is an island named Revilla Gigedo, so called after one of the Spanish viceroys.

The population of Mexico averaged, at this date, about fifty to the square league, the number varying from 633 in Guanajuato to 6 in Nuevo Mexico. The entire number of Spaniards was computed at about 1,100,000; of aboriginals, or Americans,



A Pueblo.

at nearly 3,400,000; and of those of mixed castes, at a little over 1,300,000. There were in the entire territory 30 cities, 95 villas, or towns, and 4,682 pueblos, or villages.

Spanish-Americans form what may be classed as a new race, sprung from the union of the proudest of European peoples and the most advanced of the native races of America. The

MESTIZA.

former was itself somewhat of an anomaly, containing, as it did, the physical and mental characteristics of half a dozen nations, from the sturdy Goth to the lithe and fiery Arab; the latter was evolved amid the rise and fall of mighty empires, whose records are entombed in the most imposing monuments of the continent.

While the latter may be divided, as will be remembered, into two great branches, the Maya and the Nahua, yet it con-

sists of a large number of nations, distinct in language, differing greatly in culture, and forming a larger variety even than was found on the Spanish peninsula, at the opening of the conquest. Not alone from the nations of Europe and Asia were drawn the elements of which the Spanish-American race is composed; for during its earlier development, and after the partial substitution of negro for native labor, the Africans intermarried with the aboriginals, their offspring being termed zambos.

Of the three original races,—the American, the Spaniard, and the negro,—the first compares somewhat unfavorably with

ZAMBO MOTHER AND CHILD.

the symmetrical and bright-eyed Castilian, and the tall and muscular negro, possessing neither their strength nor adaptability. The long, dark hair of the aboriginal is thick and glossy, and the beard so scant as to render still more marked the uniformity of type in the large black eyes, set widely apart, the oval face, with its long, narrow forehead, the prominent cheek-bones, and the thick lips. The complexion varies in the several districts from olive to brown, or copper-color, and becomes darkest as we approach the torrid region. The mestizo, or

half-breed, is of a different type, with a more pleasing and intelligent countenance, but usually small of stature, inclined to corpulence, and somewhat lacking in energy. The zambo is ill-looking, fiery, and turbulent. Indeed, it may be said that gentleness, symmetry, and beauty of form and feature, increase with the proportion of the admixture of Spanish blood.

If to the last remark exception be taken on the ground of the cruelty of the Spaniards in the years succeeding the conquest, the answer is, that the Castilians were not, considering the age, more cruel than were the English in Hindostan some two centuries later, or are the people of the United States at the present day. At least the Spaniards fed, and clothed, and even paid those who worked for them, leaving to the rest an opportunity of providing for their own food and clothing. But while the Indian tribes, which are compelled in the United States to live on reservations, have been deprived of their usual means of earning a livelihood, the money appropriated for them by congress feeds and clothes any one rather than those for whom it is voted.

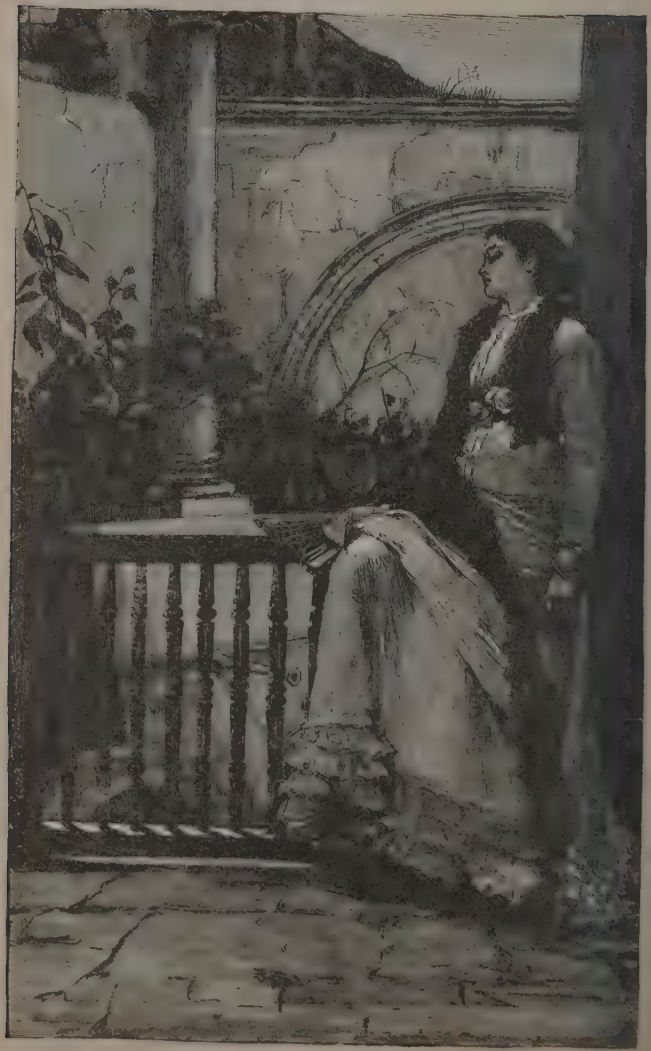
Among the misfortunes incidental to the progress of civilization is the introduction of diseases common to civilized races. As epidemics were brought upon the natives of their colonies by the English and Dutch, so were they introduced by the Spaniards into the New World. From monumental and documentary evidence, Mexico appears to have been at several epochs more populous than toward the close of the colonial or viceregal period. Franciscan missionaries alone claim to have baptized six millions of the natives between the years 1524 and 1540; and though the Dominicans and Augustinians labored earnestly to swell the number, vast fields remained unoccupied by missionary effort. These statements are not, however, reliable, nor are the estimates of deaths caused by epidemic diseases. In 1576, for instance, about two million persons are said to have died of small-pox in the central provinces alone, and at other times it is related that entire districts were almost depopulated.

Notwithstanding the ills brought on the New World by the Spaniards, in Mexico at least, men in whose veins was the largest admixture of Spanish blood were held in most esteem. Class distinctions have ever been jealously guarded in Spain; and proud of his race and country, the Spaniard in early days looked on the foreigner somewhat with the contempt of a Greek for those whom he termed barbarians. Such ideas could not fail to be intensified in the New World, where the Castilian trod the soil as conqueror of dusky and half-naked races of Americans, to whom even the possession of a soul was, at first denied. Under such conditions it is not surprising that, even in framing the most benevolent of their laws, the pre-eminence of the superior race was sustained to the disadvantage of the others.

The education, wealth, and honors of the country centred almost exclusively in the Spaniards. They held the civil and military and the highest ecclesiastical offices; they filled the professions, controlled all the leading branches of trade and manufacture, and owned the richest mines and the largest plantations. Between them and the castes lay an immense gulf. To be of the former was to be of a noble race; to be of the latter was to be branded.

Another discrimination, even yet more dangerous to the people, was made by the government in granting the higher offices in the state, army, and church almost exclusively to native-born Castilians. The result of such injustice was a bitterness of feeling which manifested itself as early as the first decade after the conquest, when the soldiers of Cortés saw the most lucrative positions and the choicest grants of land bestowed on men who had done nothing toward acquiring this rich domain for the Spaniards, and who proved themselves unworthy and dishonest.

The term 'creoles,' or native-born Americans of European parentage, acquired a tinge of reproach on account of their indolent habits, whereby they were prevented from competing with immigrants in trade or industries. Climate had much



SPANISH CREOLE.

to do with this failing; but the cause must be ascribed in part to their training and their superficial education, which served only to raise their pretensions above those of the toiler for fortune. They were spoiled by home indulgence. The frugality of the father disappeared; forethought and prudence were thrown to the winds, and the saying, "The father a trader, the

TORTILLERAS.

son a gentleman, and the grandson a beggar," became general in application.

In the sunny climate of Mexico, little effort was needed to sustain life, the masses being content to subsist, almost as before the conquest, mainly on frijoles and tortillas, seasoned with a pepper-sauce of chile, and varied occasionally with atolli, or maize porridge. These dishes appeared also on the tables of the rich, though merely as adjuncts, for with them both meals and dishes were numerous. They began the day

with chocolate, thin, foaming, and flavored with vanilla, or other ingredients, served with cake or fruit, such refreshments being taken by the women at frequent intervals. The regular breakfast with meats and other substantial dishes came a little later. The noon meal included soup, rice cooked in melted fat, and an olla podrida of various meats and vegetables, supported by plainer dishes, and followed by preserves and confectionery. Hot tortillas were eaten in place of bread, although the latter was on the table, and wine or water was seldom taken until after eating. After this repast came the siesta, which lasted till four o'clock. Toward dusk a lighter meal was laid, and for supper there were tamales, or meat pies, with chocolate or other drinks.

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, the various classes, trades, and professions were distinguished by the quality and character of their dress. Thus the official, the judge, the doctor, the barber, could be recognized by their hats, capes, collars, cuffs, and swords. So with the lower classes, some of whom were compelled to wear costumes similar to those in use immediately after the conquest.

All who had the means were impelled by vanity to distinguish themselves from the poor by extravagant display. Though held in check by the decrees of the first audiencias, the love of finery could not be altogether repressed, and was displayed even by the clergy as they set forth in state to reprove sinners. The traveller Gage, who after a tour through Mexico wrote an account of his journey in 1677, thus describes one of the ecclesiastics, as he terms the religious orders: "I saw a frier of the cloister riding with his lackey-boy by his side, upon a good gelding, with his long habit tucked up to his girdle, making shew of a fine silk orange-color stockin upon his legs, and a neat Cordovan shoe upon his foot, with a fine Holland pair of drawers, with a lace three inches broad at knee." Of other friars he also makes mention, "under whose broad sleeves we could perceive their doublets, quilted with silk, and at their wrists the laces of their Holland shirts."

The dwelling-houses on the plateau were usually of adobes, with a flat cement roof, and contained one large room called the sala, which was the general reception and living apartment, a bedroom, and a kitchen. The sala had probably more than one window, though, as a rule, not overlooking the public thoroughfare, and this was usually closed with a shutter, so that light came from the door, which opened directly on the street. While the walls shone with lustrous whiteness, the ceiling disclosed the bare beams, and the floor consisted only of cement or brick. At one end of the sala was a rough carpet, on which were low cushioned benches, and elsewhere were a few chairs. In some of the corners were placed small gilded tables, supporting candlesticks and porcelain figures, and the bareness of the walls was relieved with a few gaudy pictures, or images of saints, the figure of the Madonna, with a light burning in front, being accorded the place of honor.

The dwellings of the lower classes descended in the scale, until, in the hot region, we find them to be merely cane huts, thatched with palm-leaves, and provided with a portico, but without windows, the spaces between the canes admitting both light and air. Its one room, usually without partition, served for the entire family, together with the pigs and poultry. The bed consisted of a rush or palm-leaf mat, sometimes raised on a framework, on which the women sat cross-legged during the leisure moments of the day. This couch, together with the earthen-ware, the stone for grinding maize, and the images of the saints, was the only furniture, not even a bench being considered necessary. Yet even in the poorest households, hospitality was extended with a profusion and good-will that were almost universal.

The light-hearted disposition of the people was manifested at their numerous festivities, connected principally with the church, but multiplied by other holidays, as on the birthdays of the royal family. Most of them were celebrated with processions, bell-ringing, bull-fights, balls, fireworks, and general merriment. On royal birthdays, the ceremonies began with a

solemn mass, at which were present the various bodies of officials, and were followed by a public reception at the viceroy's palace, where those who attended kissed the hand of the ruler in prescribed order of precedence. Meanwhile were heard salvos of artillery; and during the afternoon prominent citizens

OLD-TIME COACH AND COCHERO.

appeared on horseback or in carriage on the alameda of Mexico.

The afternoon drive was a favorite feature, which gave the best opportunity for a display of toilets and jewelry. Hundreds of the heavy, springless coaches of the period, covered and embellished with designs, rolled slowly down the avenue, drawn by four horses or mules, and with servants dressed in

livery. Within were women in evening dress, without veil or head-covering, exchanging glances and greetings with passing acquaintances. Between the lines of carriages were prancing steeds, their riders being seated in saddles stamped, gilded, or embossed in gold or silver. The leather or fur covering of the horse was embellished like the saddle, and fringed with dangling pieces of precious metal which jingled at every step.

DILIGENCE AND STATION.

The rider was attired in broad-brimmed hat, edged with gold or silver lace, fur-trimmed and embroidered jacket, silver-buttoned pantaloons, and leather leggings, with immense silver spurs and inlaid whip. Very frequently the outfit of the cavalier formed his only wealth, and his sole ambition in life was to display his gaudy attire, his trappings, and his horsemanship at the afternoon parade on the alameda.

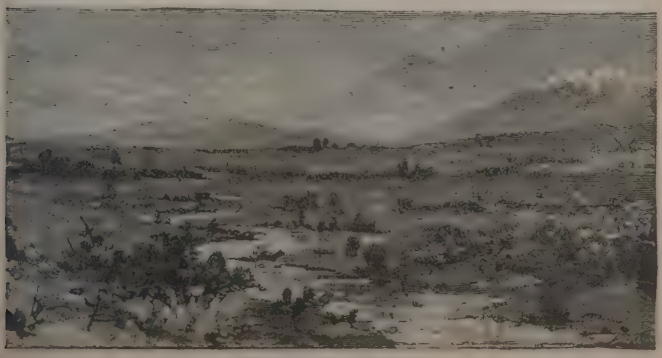
Compared with a people so appreciative of dramatic art as were the Spaniards, who could boast such names as Lope de Vega and Calderon, it must be confessed that the efforts of their American descendants were somewhat meagre in result. Within a few years after the conquest comedies were presented at the palace of Mexico, and sacred pieces at the convents. Toward the close of the seventeenth century a theatre was probably erected, and at the close of the eighteenth there was but one temple of the drama worthy of the name, that one being supplied only with mediocre performers from Spain. Nevertheless the actor could not complain of want of encouragement, and favorites often received liberal presents from the audience, which showered on the stage gold, silver, and even valuable jewelry.

The tertulia, or social party, lasting from about six till nine in the evening, was a pleasant gathering, with its exuberant fun and freedom from restraint. A trifle sufficed to provoke merriment, and conversation flowed with remarkable volubility of tongue. Parlor games with forfeits were among the pastimes, but singing and dancing were the favorite amusements. Words were readily improvised for the simple melody, and all joined in the refrain. The dancers also took part in the song, while the spectators kept time to the music of guitars, with occasional clapping of hands. The favorite dances were the minuet, the waltz, bolero, and fandango, all executed with the grace of movement native to Spaniards, though sometimes not without a savor of indelicacy.

While the Spanish Americans were thus fond of pleasure, it must not be supposed that they were altogether neglectful of their business interests. Although mining, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce had fallen somewhat into decadence, these interests were still far from inconsiderable. Between 1521 and 1808 the total yield of the precious metals amounted to nearly $2,000,000,000, the revenue derived by the crown from this flood of wealth being sixteen per cent on silver and nineteen per cent on gold. The value of agricultural

products averaged, during the eighteenth century, perhaps $40,000,000, while manufactures represented about $7,000,000, most of the latter being articles of prime necessity. As to the volume of trade and commerce, there are no reliable data.

Thus passed away nearly three centuries of viceregal sway; so quietly they passed as to cause, save the incidents related, scarcely a ripple in the smooth current of events. If we still hear occasionally the din of conflict, it is but a skirmish with the rude tribes of the north, turning at bay against the encroachments of civilization on which they retaliated in organized descents from mountain fastnesses; or flitting like shadows along the outskirts of settlements. The conqueror had followed the deceitful mirage of newer, richer lands, which lured him onward until repeated disappointment shattered his hopes. Military operations were narrowed to a cordon of outposts, and were guided by a temporizing policy that savored little of the spirit which impelled a handful of men to overthrow an empire, and disclose a southern sea. In their place we have now a condition of peace and prosperity, the valley of Mexico being filled once more with thriving farms, orchards, and pasture-lands, though in the regions of the north the mines still held forth attractions to those who were willing to face isolation and danger



MEXICAN LANDSCAPE.

PART IV.—THE REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER XXIX.

OUTLINE OF EUROPEAN HISTORY AT THE CLOSE OF THE VICEREGAL PERIOD.

During the latter portion of the eighteenth century, and the opening years of the nineteenth, the thrones of Europe were profoundly shaken. The declaration of independence by the United States in 1776, the recognition of the American republic by France after the disaster to the British arms at Saratoga, the surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown in 1782, the outbreak of the French revolution, the storming of the Bastile, the execution of Louis XVI. in 1793, and the reign of terror, ending with the death of Maximilian, Robespierre,—all these startling events, following in quick succession, had aroused throughout the Old World monarchies a feeling of intense unrest.

A few months after the decapitation of Louis XVI., a French army laid siege to the city of Toulon, which had been delivered by the royalists into the hands of the English. After several failures, a young lieutenant of artillery, a Corsican by birth, suggested to his superior officers the operations whereby this naval station in the south of France was recaptured with little difficulty. Of him the commander-in-chief writes in his official despatch, copied in the *Moniteur* of December 7, 1793: "Among those who distinguished themselves most, and who most aided me to rally my troops, are citizens Buona Parte, commanding the artillery, and adjutants-general Arena and Cervoni."

In October 1795, citizen Buona Parte, better known to fame as Napoleon Bonaparte, was called upon by the national convention to suppress the revolt of the revolutionary wards or

sections. This accomplished, he was appointed in February of the following year to the command of the army of Italy. Leading across the Alps an army of some 20,000 ragged and almost barefooted veterans, he defeated the Austrians in several engagements, concluding with the decisive battle of Rivoli, and in May 1787 took possession of Venice, a cisalpine republic being formed from the Milanese and Mantuan states.

Then followed the campaign in Egypt, and the departure of Bonaparte for the east, in command of 30,000 men, aided by such generals as Murat, Desaix, Lannes, and Marmont, but with Nelson at the head of a British fleet in his front, and behind him a European war, forming perhaps one of the most critical periods in the modern history of Europe. After defeating the Mamelukes at the battle of the Pyramids, his fleet was destroyed by Nelson at Aboukir Bay, and soon afterward he was himself defeated by Sir Sidney Smith before St. Jean d'Acre. This disaster, said Bonaparte, changed the destiny of the world, for the downfall of Acre would have been followed by an alliance with the subject tribes, from which he would have collected an army for the conquest of Asia.

Returning to Paris in October 1799, his reappearance was hailed by the French nation with delight, being regarded as almost providential. During his absence, the war had been grossly mismanaged. Armies and generals were not wanting; but there was needed in camp and council a presiding genius, one in whom were combined the highest qualities of the strategist and the statesman. Such a man was Napoleon Bonaparte. Clearing at the point of the bayonet—as Cromwell put an end to his refractory parliament—the council-chamber of the five hundred, then the stronghold of jacobinism, he was appointed soon afterward First Consul of France, with almost unlimited power.

By the victory of Marengo, in June 1800, French supremacy was re-established in Italy, and about two years later Bonaparte was proclaimed by the senate First Consul for life. In 1804, he was enthroned as emperor of the French, under the

title of Napoleon I., and in the following year received at Milan the iron crown of the Lombard kings.

Meanwhile England had again declared war against France, and at her instance, in the summer of 1805, Russia and Austria joined in a coalition against the emperor. The capture of Ulm, and the crushing defeat at Austerlitz, laid the greater portion of Europe at the feet of the conqueror; though the victory of Trafalgar, in which the combined fleets of France and Spain were almost destroyed, was some compensation for these disasters. In 1806, the Prussians were overthrown at Jena and Auerstadt, and after some further wars, interrupted by no interval of peace, in the spring of 1812 Napoleon set forth with an army of nearly 500,000 men for the invasion of Russia.

The decisive battle was fought at the village of Borodino, almost within sight of Moscow, then the capital of the tzars. The Russians, being defeated, set fire to the city, first removing all the provisions which it contained; and on the verge of winter, a season which proved unusually severe, the French and their allies were compelled to begin their retreat through the bleak plains of central Russia. Of the immense host which accompanied the emperor, 125,000 were slain, 132,000 died of hunger, cold, and disease, 193,000 were made prisoners, and only 30,000 returned to their native land.

Undaunted by this disaster, Napoleon at once gave orders that fresh conscriptions should be levied, for already a new and more powerful coalition had been formed, the sixth one combined against the French, and including Russia, England, Spain, Prussia, and Sweden, Austria soon afterward joining the allies. In October 1813, the emperor met with a decisive overthrow at Leipsic, and the campaign of the following year was fought on the soil of France, the Russians, Austrians, and Prussians having crossed the eastern border, while Wellington, at the head of an Anglo-Spanish army, had driven the French across the Pyrenees, and was now laying siege to Bayonne. Hemmed in on all sides, Paris was at length compelled to

capitulate, and the emperor signed his abdication, retiring into exile at the island of Elba. Escaping thence, on the 1st of March, 1815, he landed in the south of France, accompanied by an escort of his imperial guard.

Instantly Europe rose once more in arms against the emperor, the allied powers putting their forces in motion toward the French frontier. About the middle of June 1815, two armies were stationed in Belgium, one consisting of Prussians commanded by Marshal Blücher, and the other, under Wellington, composed of British, Germans, Hanoverians, and troops of other nationalities. With his usual rapidity, and with a secrecy that defied detection, Napoleon threw himself between them, attacking the Prussians at Ligny, and the British at Quatrebras. Against the former he won his last victory; but at the hands of the latter his marshal received a check, though on the following day Wellington retired to a more favorable position at the plateau of St. Jean, near Brussels, where he could also reopen communications with the Prussians. On the 18th of June was fought the decisive battle which the French term Mont St. Jean, and the English Waterloo, so called from the name of a village four miles distant, where the British commander wrote his official despatch. After a desperate conflict, the result was a total rout of the French, with the loss of about 30,000 men, and nearly all their artillery and baggage.

On the 22d of June, exactly 100 days after he had resumed the sceptre, Napoleon signed his second abdication, and having vainly attempted to escape to the United States, placed himself under the protection of the British nation. Detained as a prisoner of war, he was finally banished to the island of St. Helena, where, on the 5th of May, 1821, he breathed his last.

Thus the history of Europe during the last years of the eighteenth century and the first portion of the nineteenth consists mainly of the history of Napoleon and the Napoleonic wars. At their conclusion, the nations of Europe were drained of their resources, England alone having expended several hundred millions of pounds, while others of the great powers were reduced almost to bankruptcy.

Let us now turn to Spain, of which country, it will be remembered, a brief historical sketch has already been given, closing with the reign of Philip II., a monarch of whom there is little to be said, except that, to no purpose, he wasted more human lives and squandered more wealth than any of the sovereigns who have filled the Spanish throne. During the seventeenth century, the army became demoralized; the navy was destroyed, and the country was left defenceless. The merchant marine had almost ceased to exist, even the carrying trade falling into the hands of foreigners; while pirates infested the colonies, and trade and industries retained none of their former vitality. Yet during the reigns of Philip III., Philip IV., and of Charles II., which complete the century, was continued for a brief period the brilliant era of literature and art which commenced in the days of their predecessor. Among men of letters may be mentioned Luis de Leon, Castilian Cervantes, Lope de Vega, and Quevedo; among artists, such names as Rivera, Velazquez, and Murillo.

The eighteenth century opens with the war of the succession, in which the house of Bourbon overthrew the Hapsburg dynasty. The Bourbon monarchs, before the reign of Joseph Bonaparte, were Philip V., who ruled from 1700 to 1746; Ferdinand VI., 1746–1759; Charles III., 1759–1788; Charles IV., 1788–1808, and his son Ferdinand VII. The overthrow of Joseph Bonaparte, in 1813, was again followed by the reign of Ferdinand VII., which lasted without interruption until 1833, his successor, Isabel II., remaining in power until 1868. After a brief period of republican government, Amadeo, of the house of Savoy, occupied the throne, between 1871 and 1873. Then came more republican dictatorships, and finally, the house of Bourbon was restored in the person of Alfonso XII.

After the war of the succession, there was some improvement in the affairs of Spain. Agriculture and manufactures were in a more flourishing condition; the legislature was purified, and the church stripped of much of its property and influence. Under Ferdinand VI., though a man of weakly frame and

feeble mind, a timid but benevolent ruler, the country recuperated somewhat; retrenchments were made; the power of the inquisition was restrained; defences were restored; commerce and industries began to thrive, and reforms were instituted.

During the reign of Charles III., a more able monarch, church and inquisition were still further held in check, and the Jesuits were expelled. Between 1779 and 1783 there was war with England. In 1781–82 was quelled an insurrection of the inca of Peru, and in 1786, the thousand years' war with the Mahometans was terminated by the peace of Algiers.

With the accession of Charles IV. ends the epoch of reform; and dismal indeed are the annals of the next thirty years, during which occurred dire humiliation at the hands of Bonaparte, and the loss of nearly all the transatlantic colonies. The king was little better than an imbecile, his wife, María Luisa, an ambitious and disreputable woman, being virtually ruler of the people. The queen's favorite adviser was a young officer named Manuel Godoy, an impudent, incapable, and thoroughly immoral minister, who, when tired of war, intrigue, and politics, sought refuge in dissipation. Under such baneful influences, Spain, which in the days of Ferdinand and Isabella had been the proudest of European monarchies, became the by-word of all the nations. The finances of the country were wrecked; the army and navy rendered almost worthless, for though there were ships and regiments, there were neither sailors nor soldiers; Galicia and other provinces were in revolt, and presently the French were upon them, the proud Spaniard becoming merely the vassal of a foreign power.

By the treaty of Basle, in 1795, a nominal alliance was formed with the French republic, but one which in reality placed the peninsula still more in the power of France, and prepared the way for a general revolt of the colonies. For his services on this occasion, Godoy received the title of Prince of Peace, together with rich domains and other substantial gifts. After the defeat of the Spaniards by the British fleet off Cape

Finisterre, in 1797, the English swept the Mediterranean and Carribean seas, sowing discord among the Spanish settlements. In 1801, peace was again signed between France and Spain, with Godoy as the creature of Napoleon. Then once more came wars in quick succession, followed by ignominious treaties. In 1808, the French were again in Spain; Charles IV. signed his abdication; Godoy fled before the fury of the populace, and Ferdinand VII., who is described by the historians of his time as an incompetent and faithless ruler, a hypocrite, a coward, a debauchee, and a trickster, was named his successor.

After a royal puppet-show, with Murat as manager, during which Charles was for a moment recalled and Ferdinand abdicated, the British armies landed in the peninsula. Then came Napoleon into Spain, and until 1813 his brother Joseph Bonaparte held the reins of government. The disastrous expedition under Sir John Moore, and the battle of Corunna in 1809, were followed by Wellesley's victory at Talavera in July of the same year, and after being defeated at Salamanca in 1812 and at Vitoria in 1813, the French were finally driven across the Pyrenees.

In 1810, Caracas in Venezuela having broken out into revolt, followed shortly afterward by Buenos Ayres, the córtes assembled at Cádiz. In 1812, a constitution was framed, whereby seignorial rights, the inquisition, and most of the convents were abolished. This measure, which was almost republican in its tenor, was, however, too liberal for the time and place. Soon it became inoperative, and again the people labored under the burden of absolute monarchy.

Reinstated in 1813, Ferdinand swore to carry out the provisions of the constitution, though never intending to keep his vow. No sooner was he seated on the throne than he annulled the proceedings of the córtes, and brought before courts-martial all who had assisted in framing the constitution, or had adhered to it. Many perished on the scaffold, and hundreds of nobles were imprisoned in dungeons, while the more fortu-

nate were sent into exile. For several years Spain was governed by this ruthless tyrant, whose disgusting appearance and habits made him the scorn of his people. Then followed the rebellion of 1820, after which came riots and civil war. The constitution of 1812 was restored in 1820, and Ferdinand, though against his will, took the oath to support it, and actually begged the nation's pardon for his act in having abolished it in 1814. But with his usual faithlessness he resolved to set it aside as soon as he could. At length, the absolute sovereigns of Europe having decided to reinstate him in his former unlimited authority, a powerful French army under the duc d'Angouleme entered Spain to effect that purpose; the constitutional régime was overthrown, and the cold-blooded Ferdinand was again enabled to increase the number of his victims. Finally, there was another decade during which despotism knew no limit, commerce and industries languished, and the public exchequer was depleted, the expenses of the government being 700,000,000 reals a year, with an income of only 400,000,000. The ties of allegiance which bound America to Europe had been sundered, never again to be united.

CHAPTER XXX.

CAUSES OF DISAFFECTION IN MEXICO.

At the opening of the nineteenth century, the subjects of Spain in the New World found ample reasons for revolt. They had endured at the hands of despotism almost every form of oppression that a people could undergo; the worst that had happened to England's colonies were among the mildest wrongs of the inhabitants of Mexico. If, among the latter, there had been no more serious grounds of complaint than were alleged by the English settlers in America, if they had suffered only the interference of royal or viceregal authority between the people and the laws of their making, the dissolution of representative assemblies, a corrupt administration of justice, the maintenance of standing armies, commercial restrictions, and evils of like nature, there might not have been to this day any separation from the mother country, unless indeed it had come to pass through natural decay. But looking well into the causes of the Mexican revolt, we find, in addition to this catalogue of wrongs, some of the blackest crimes which it is within the power of tyranny to perpetrate; such as the enforcement of superstitious observances, intellectual slavery, the subordination of soul, the degradation of the mental and spiritual faculties of man.

One of the most intolerable grievances was that which denaturalized the son of a Spaniard born in America. At first the creole was esteemed as one with the native-born Castilian: and for several generations the ties of parentage prevailed over the distinctions of nationality. Even when these bonds were loosened by divergence of interests, and the ever-increasing numbers of the creole population, the union between the two classes was still maintained as a protection against revolt among the native tribes.

But the distinction thus made between the creole and the native-born Spaniard was not the only reason, nor in fact the main reason, for the disruption which ensued. The divine right of kings, and implicit obedience to rulers, were doctrines so strongly ingrained in the nature of the people, that to repudiate them was considered as almost equivalent to defying the power of the Almighty; and it was this feeling which held the inhabitants of Mexico so long in a state of vassalage. While such a condition of affairs prevailed, the Spaniards of Castile could deprive the Spanish Americans of their political status, and assail their rights with impunity; but none the less, in due time, did European pride and disdain provoke irritation and bitter jealousy. Thus was gradually developed a mutual antipathy, which was fostered by the policy of the home government; for though by law and theory the privileges of all subjects of the crown were equal, in practice it was far otherwise.

Three prominent causes were ever actively at work, engendering hatred and an intense longing for freedom. These were social restrictions, exclusion from preferments, and the commercial monopolies enjoyed by the Spaniards. With regard to the two first, it is unnecessary to add to what has already been said, for to the last of these reasons may be chiefly attributed the wide-spread discontent. The entire control of trade by Spanish merchants, the exorbitant prices charged for all commodities, and the grinding restrictions on industries that interfered with the commerce of the mother country, were most disastrous in effect, since thereby all classes suffered, and the poor the most severely. A bond of union was thus formed between the creoles, mestizos, and native races, all of whom manifested an eager desire for independence.

But apart from these main causes of discontent, other sources of provocation, permanent or periodical, aroused a spirit of antagonism. Excessive taxation galled and irritated; the venality of officials and the corruptness of the judiciary excited indignation; while, in the year 1767, the expulsion of

the Jesuits, who had ingratiated themselves with the lower orders, wounded the religious sensibilities of the people. From that time conspiracies became wide-spread, and though at first abortive, served to bring home to the Spanish rulers the fact that disloyalty was rapidly spreading throughout the provinces. Disdaining the support of the church, the government determined to rely only on force of arms; and organizing the troops on a larger scale, omitted no opportunity of humiliating the clergy, who, being thus alienated, became a powerful element in shaping the political destinies of the nation.

During this period, so fraught with danger to the fairest portion of Spain's dominion in the New World, there was no viceroy in Mexico who was capable of appreciating the true condition of affairs, or who possessed the courage and ability needed to avert revolution. Their incompetence and vacillation hastened the progress of revolt, and during 1809 and 1810 disaffection spread far and fast throughout the land. In September of the latter year the strife began, and was marked with reprisals as vindictive and cold-blooded as any recorded in the annals of Christian nations. With these preliminary remarks, let us now consider the historical events which preceded the final rupture.

In January 1803, José de Iturrigaray assumed the duties of viceroy, being appointed through the influence of Godoy. A native of Cádiz, and of patrician birth, a veteran soldier, and a sexagenarian, he still retained his energy and vigor, though his reputation as a military commander was none of the best. His reception at the capital was most flattering, and the privileges accorded to the inhabitants gained for him at first the favor of all classes, though soon it was discovered that his condescension was but a cloak for less worthy traits of character.

The family of Iturrigaray consisted of his wife, the Doña Inéz, a grown-up son, and several younger children, attended by a numerous train of relatives, all bent on amassing fortunes. Be-

fore his departure from the peninsula he had obtained a royal decree, permitting him to introduce into New Spain, free of duty, unfinished family apparel. Under this pretence he landed at Vera Cruz a cargo of merchandise, which he sold at an enormous profit. Then by the sale of offices and employments, and by placing an impost on quicksilver, he secured for himself a considerable revenue. Other frauds were committed in the contracts for paper used at the government cigar factories, the contractors charging fictitious prices, and paying a bonus to the Doña Inéz. In brief, the administration of the viceroy was modelled after the example of his patron Godoy, who, it was believed, shared in the illicit gains of his protégé.

Sumptuous entertainments were given at the palace with the twofold object of pleasure and profit, and there assembled oidores, inquisitors, prelates, and members of the most distinguished families, who, to win the favor of the hostess, vied with each other in their efforts to please, and in the costliness of their gifts. Soon the capital was given up to pleasure, dissipation, and intrigue; and to the discredit caused by the venality of the viceroy were added the profligacy and vulgar passion for play of his son, who was a constant visitor to the cock-pit. Such conduct could not fail to produce its effect. The halo of royalty, which for centuries had surrounded the viceregal authority, was dimmed, and the respect formerly accorded to the representatives of the sovereign was gradually withheld. Meanwhile, Iturrigaray accumulated a large fortune, consisting of coin, jewels, and plate; and this, notwithstanding his extravagance and the enormous expenses of court, which far exceeded his stipend of $60,000 a year.

It was now the period when Spain was being invaded by the armies of Napoleon I., and during each year of this protracted war, the appeals for money, in the shape of forced loans, and the increase of taxation, became more burdensome. Among other means adopted for raising funds was the sequestration of estates in the hands of benevolent institutions, a measure which not only touched the public sympathy, but also the

pockets of a host of land-owners; for to hypothecate with them their real estate was a favorite resource among those who needed money. The seizures, which amounted to no less than $44,000,000, affected nearly every interest in the country, so that only a percentage of the value of the lands could be realized; and this was greatly decreased by passing through the hands of the viceroy and his minions.

In addition to these troubles came a rupture with England, and the consequent fear of invasion and piratical raids, while toward the north the people of the United States were encroaching on Spanish territory. Special levies of troops and appropriations of money must therefore be made for the defence of Mexico, all these causes tending to increase the prevailing discontent. In the mean time, Charles IV. had abdicated in favor of his son Ferdinand VII.; and although this change, which involved the fall of Godoy, could not have been acceptable to the viceroy, he displayed such indifference in proclaiming the new monarch that to many his conduct appeared almost treasonable.

Soon afterward followed the news of Joseph Bonaparte's usurpation of the throne of Spain; and now those who nursed dreams of independence during the absence of a lawful sovereign, proclaimed their views in anonymous placards, among them being some which even proposed a crown for Iturrigaray. Doubtless the viceroy was flattered; but whatever his views, he lacked the resolution to place himself at the head of the movement, preferring to await the progress of events. Nevertheless, he was eager for power, and when the town council of Mexico proposed that he should assume the government on behalf of the lawful sovereign, and surrender it not even to Spain herself so long as she remained under foreign rule, he at once accepted their offer. This proceeding aroused the indignation of the members of the audiencia, and the more so because the town council was composed entirely of creoles. When, therefore, the viceroy presented to the oidores the address drawn up by the latter, it was rejected as contrary to law and the public welfare.

In the midst of the dispute, intelligence arrived of an uprising of the Spaniards against the French; and fired with a momentary patriotism, the people seized with acclamation the opportunity of affirming their loyalty by formally proclaiming Ferdinand VII. Despatches from Joseph Bonaparte were soon afterward publicly burned at Vera Cruz, amid some rioting. Then came orders from two different juntas in Spain demanding submission. The viceroy declared that since anarchy prevailed in the peninsula, no recognition of the authority of the juntas could for the time be accorded. Against the wishes of the audiencia, he now summoned a congress representing the town councils of the entire country, all of them consisting largely of creoles. This assumption of independent power, together with the massing of troops, gave rise to the belief that Iturrigaray purposed to sever himself from the home government, and thereupon the party opposed to him resolved on his overthrow.

The conspirators, 300 in number, styled themselves Volunteers of Ferdinand VII., though afterward better known as Chaquetas, from the jackets of their uniform. At midnight, on the 15th of September, 1808, the leaders silently approached the palace gates. The guard had been locked up in their quarters, the officer of the day being in collusion, and the sentinels at the entrance stood mute and motionless. Connected on the north side with the palace was the court prison, and there the sentry, not being in the secret, challenged the intruders. Receiving no reply, he fired on them; but was himself shot down while reloading his musket. Recovering from this mishap, the conspirators entered the palace without further opposition; and notwithstanding the shots which had been fired without, they found the viceroy asleep in his chamber. Aroused from his slumbers, he found himself a prisoner, and after giving up the keys of his cabinet, was conducted with his two eldest sons to the inquisition. The following day he was formally deposed, and soon afterward was sent to Spain, to linger in prison or in exile, harassed by legal proceedings,

and deprived of the greater portion of his property, although after the close of the revolution much of the estate was recovered by his family, under the plea that he had struggled only for liberty, and had fallen a victim to his inordinate zeal.

As successor to Iturrigaray, the audiencia appointed one Pedro Garibay, a retired brigadier-general in the Spanish army, an octogenarian, broken down by infirmity and poverty, and a man of feeble will and mediocre ability. During his reign, revolutionary doctrines made rapid progress; secret meetings were held at private houses; societies known as the Racionales Caballeros, which, by their machinations, aided in no small degree the cause of independence, were organized at Vera Cruz, at Jalapa, and in Mexico; finally the secret agents of Joseph Bonaparte were actively at work, inciting the people to rebellion.

Lampoons and scurrilous pasquinades were posted on the walls of the capital; insulting caricatures of the leading members of the government and of the loyalist party disfigured the public builings; seditious publications were scattered over the floors of the cathedral and the churches; the image of the Spanish monarch was grossly disfigured on the coinage; and the supreme junta of Spain was openly ridiculed. All these seeds of insurrection were so secretly and warily sown that the efforts of the government were ineffectual to suppress them. In vain were the use and sale of hand printing-presses prohibited, and in vain were rewards offered for the detection of the authors of these treasonable demonstrations.

Day by day the government was losing its influence over the people, and becoming more and more an object of ridicule to the disaffected. In the hope of stemming the rising torrent, Garibay, or rather his advisers, established a junta in the capital, composed of three oidores, before whom all cases of treason were to be tried. This tribunal was organized in June 1809, and a few arrests were made; but instead of tending to suppress sedition, the measure was turned to advantage by the revolutionary party, and supplied additional means of foment-

ing discontent. A rumor was spread abroad that the prisons were crowded with innocent victims, and the citizens were taught to believe that the mere avowal of liberal opinions was sufficient to cause them to be sent prisoners to Spain.

Meanwhile, the several juntas in various portions of the peninsula had coalesced in a junta central, and in March 1809 this body was formally recognized in Mexico. But misrule continued, and with it grew the hostility of the people, until the volunteers of Ferdinand, at the head of whom was Gabriel de Yermo, a wealthy land-owner, made an earnest appeal to the home government, urging the selection of a more capable and energetic viceroy. Among their reasons were the demand of the sister of Ferdinand VII. for the appointment of her son as regent; the rumor that Napoleon intended to nominate Charles IV. as ruler of Mexico, and thus dismember the monarchy, and the pretensions of other claimants, among whom was a descendant of Montezuma II. The result was the removal of Garibay, in July 1809, his successor being Archbishop Lizana y Beaumont.

But the new viceroy was not the man for the occasion. Like Garibay, he was aged, infirm, and as feeble in mind as in body; he was a more fitting inmate for a hospital than for the viceregal palace. Though passably honest, and of benign disposition, he lacked altogether the force of will needed to curb insubordination and regulate contending factions. Pastorals were issued where viceregal orders should have been presented; and during his brief reign he allowed himself to be entirely swayed by favorites, to whom he intrusted the affairs of government.

Prompted by such advisers, Lizana's measures created widespread dissatisfaction, even among the stanchest loyalists, and the mere rumor of a conspiracy to seize or assassinate him resulted in the dismissal and persecution of the very men who formed the sole bulwark of sovereignty. Such policy could only result in disaster to the crown, and in December a plot was arranged at Valladolid to secure the leading officials and

proclaim the revolution. The indiscretion of certain of the conspirators led to disclosure, and the ringleaders were arrested, but escaped with slight punishment, probably through apprehension that severe measures might at once lead to overt treason

Now came vague rumor of a projected French invasion, and with self-sacrificing generosity Lizana made preparations for defence, besides adding several millions of forced contributions to the nine millions already collected by Garibay. At the very time when Mexico was cheerfully responding to these exactions, an order came from the viceroy to raise a further loan of twenty millions. This last demand exhausted the patience of the people; and finding that their generosity only exposed them to further extortion, they closed against him, not only their purses, but their hearts.

Sorely disgusted with the prelate's administration, the Spaniards had already caused representations to be made to the home authorities, and as a result Lizana was relieved from office, ostensibly on the ground of his extreme age and failing health, the audiencia assuming temporary control. In August 1810, a new viceroy arrived in the person of Francisco Javier de Venegas, who had held the rank of lieutenant-general during the wars with Napoleon I He is thus described by the chronicler Bustamante: "Tall and robust of frame, the expression of his countenance was sour, and his glance angry and threatening; his lips were thick, and his head, which he held inclined over the left shoulder, was of enormous size. His whiskers were of the same cut and shape as those of executioners, desperadoes, and bull-fighters; and his impetuous gait was similar to that of an ill-tempered corporal."

As was the custom with all the viceroys at this period, one of the first acts of Venegas was to demand more money, in return for which he distributed titles and other honors among the more prominent loyalists, both of these measures being extremely distasteful to the creoles.

Among the concessions recently granted by the home gov-

ernment was a decree whereby its American possessions were no longer to be regarded as mere colonies, but as integral portions of the Spanish dominion, with representation in the córtes. This body, repressed for centuries, had been re-established at the beginning of the year 1810, the junta central being then dissolved and a regency appointed. The representation was at first limited to one deputy from each colony, but later was increased to twenty-six for all the colonies, though without designating the number to be chosen from the several provinces. The result was that in some districts no vote was cast, and in others the members elect declined to proceed to Spain, fearing that on their arrival some new order would exclude them from their seats. Meanwhile the number of Spanish deputies had been proportionately increased by allowing one for every 50,000 persons; and consequently the so-called concession became another cause of grievance.

Thus it will be seen that the people of Mexico did not lack provocation for revolt. By judicious treatment the creole party, which formed the strongest element among the malcontents, might yet have been restrained for at least another generation. But the French invasion, disclosing the weakness of Spain, and dispelling the illusions that for centuries had surrounded her monarchs, the dangerous precedents afforded by the revolutions in France and in the United States, coupled with the misrule of Spanish juntas and Spanish viceroys,—all these causes had tended to foster the spirit of disloyalty among the nation, which became each year more ripe for rebellion. Though the hour had not yet come, the long term of Castilian domination in the New World was wellnigh accomplished; its days were numbered; already the handwriting was on the wall.

CHAPTER XXXI.

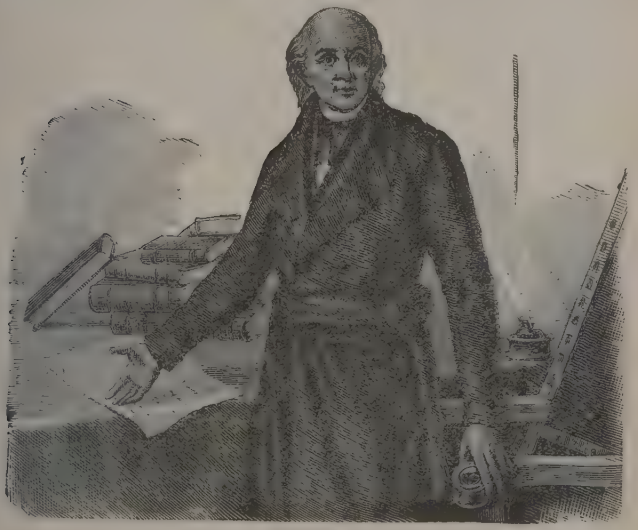
OPENING OF THE WAR OF INDEPENDENCE.

After the failure of the plot at Valladolid, meetings of the leading revolutionists were held at Querétaro, the capital of the province of that name, and then one of the most flourishing cities in central Mexico. The name of the curate of

Querétaro in 1796.

Dolores in Guanajuato, Miguel Hidalgo y Costilla, who figured so prominently in the coming events, will be forever honored as that of a man who gave his life for his country, sacrificing himself in the struggle against injustice and oppression. He was now in his fifty-eighth year, having reached an age at which most men are ready to lay aside some portion of life's burdens; yet he did not hesitate to accept the leadership at this most critical juncture in the nation's history, although he well knew that the people were not yet prepared fully to respond to his efforts.

Of medium height and goodly proportions, large of limb, and with ruddy-brown complexion, he was still almost in the vigor of manhood. His head, bald and shining at the crown, though at the sides were straggling white locks, was large and well modelled, with massive features, thin lips, and prominent eyebrows, while the full, round chin, clean shaven, as was



HIDALGO.

the custom with his cloth, betokened unyielding power of will. He was a man of kindly and sympathetic heart; in manner gentle and winning, in deportment natural and graceful, and not least among his gifts was a sonorous and musical voice, whose accents vibrated in the ear with pleasing effect. He had the true scholarly stoop, and in his mien and features was a profoundly meditative expression,— a fitting incarnation for the great soul that reposed in settled calm beneath.

Heroes of different type among the leading spirits in the

revolutionary movement were such men as captains Allende and Aldama, and though the fame of all others was eclipsed by that of Hidalgo, it is but just that their merits and patriotism should be fully recognized.

Ignacio de Allende, the son of a Spanish merchant, was from early youth fond of dangerous sports and martial exer-

IGNACIO DE ALLENDE.

cises, being conspicuous for his skill in horsemanship, and often distinguishing himself at the bull-fights held in the capital, from which he did not always escape unhurt. He was an extremely powerful man, strong enough, it is related, to hold back a bull by the horns, and was ever ready to exert his strength for the protection of the weak. When in his seventeenth year, he was appointed a lieutenant in the Queen's dragoons, and a few years later, being stationed at the military

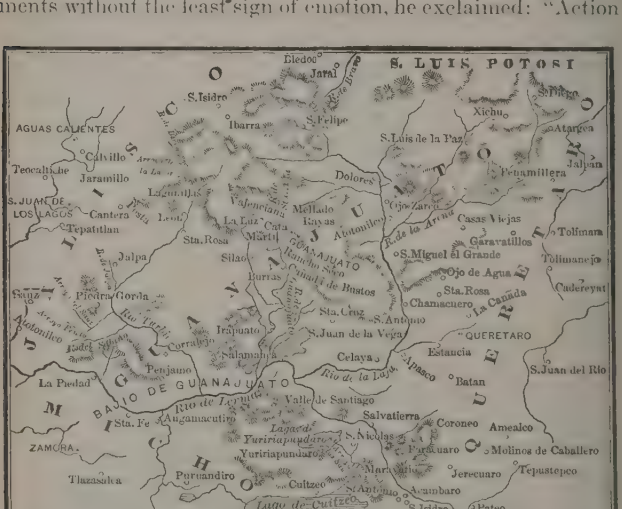
encampment established by Iturrigaray at Jalapa, won for himself the approbation of the viceroy by his soldierly qualities. Allende was a fine looking and gallant soldier, of pleasing address and polished manners, one whose resolution and perseverance never yielded to obstacles, and whose daring in the field had often exposed him to unnecessary danger.

The general plan of the revolutionists was to seize almost simultaneously the richer Spaniards and the authorities of the more important towns, and then to raise the standard of rebellion. This was to be accomplished with as little violence as possible, and the captives were to be allowed the privilege of remaining with their families or of returning to the peninsula, though in the latter case their property was to be confiscated for the benefit of the public treasury. If after this coup de main the government should be in a position to offer resistance, Allende, as generalissimo, was to organize the revolutionary forces, while Hidalgo endeavored to enlist in his cause the sympathies of the clergy, and of those among the Spanish Americans who were not already disaffected.

In order to accomplish their designs, Allende and Aldama visited Mexico, Puebla, and other leading cities, while Hidalgo rendered good service at Valladolid and Guanajuato, some twenty leagues north-westward from Querétaro. Several months had passed, and now the plans of the revolutionists were almost matured. There were as yet no signs of treachery, and the day was appointed on which independence was to be proclaimed. The great fair at San Juan de los Lagos in Jalisco, commencing on the 8th of December, afforded an excellent opportunity, for there, amid the gathering crowds, the leaders could escape observation, and concentrate their forces without detection.

But the government was already apprised of these events, for one of the revolutionary captains had turned traitor. The measures taken, however, were not very energetic, and Hidalgo and his associates received timely warning. On the night of September 15th, Allende and his comrades joined the curate

at the town of Dolores, in northern Guanajuato, where the latter now combined with his clerical duties a variety of occupations, among them the management of a porcelain factory, and informed him of certain arrests that had been made, and of the discovery of their plans. After listening to their statements without the least sign of emotion, he exclaimed: "Action



PROVINCE OF GUANAJUATO.

must be taken at once; there is no time to be lost." He then ordered the street watchmen to be called in, and bade them summon a party of workmen from the factory, to whom he communicated his intention of raising at once the standard of liberty. The party then sallied forth, and liberating the prisoners in the public jail, took captives the principal Spaniards.

Daybreak was now approaching; it was the dawn of the sabbath, and Hidalgo caused the church bell to be rung at an earlier hour than usual. The townsfolk gathered in front

of the door, and from the neighboring haciendas, farmers and herdsmen, mounted or on foot, assembled in crowds at the sanctuary. But it was the affairs of this world, rather than of the next, that claimed their attention.

No mass was said that morning, and the curate, as he entered his pulpit, gazed on the sea of upturned faces with deep and yearning solicitude. "My children," he said, "this day comes to us as a new dispensation. Are you ready to receive it? Will you be free? Will you make the effort to recover from the hated Spaniards the lands stolen from your forefathers three hundred years ago?" For the last time Hidalgo addressed his flock as their pastor. Henceforth he would be their guide to liberty, and would lead them in person to battle and to victory. "To-day," he continued, "we must act. The Spaniards are bad enough themselves, but now they are about to surrender us and our country to the French. Danger threatens our religion, and oppression our homes. Will you become Napoleon's slaves, or will you as patriots defend your religion and your rights?" "We will defend them!" shouted the people. "Viva nuestra Señora de Guadalupe; muera el mal gobierno; mueran los gachupines!" Long live Our Lady of Guadalupe; perish the bad government; perish the gachupines; the last word being a term of contempt applied to the Spaniards. "Live, then," was Hidalgo's reply, "and follow your curate, who has ever watched over your welfare." The cry had gone forth, the Grito de Dolores, which became the watchword of the revolutionists. Thus did the poor and downtrodden of this little Indian town proclaim the future independence of a great nation.

To provide their followers with arms was the great difficulty of the leaders. The houses of the Spaniards were searched; the lances, made by the curate's order, were brought forth; the Indians seized their machetes, and those who had no other weapons supplied themselves with clubs and slings, or bows and arrows. Of fire-arms there were few; but at San Miguel

el Grande munitions of war could be obtained, and thither Hidalgo and Allende marched at the head of the multitude, which soon numbered about 4,000 men. Some attempt was made at military organization. The mounted herdsmen carrying lances were formed into troops of cavalry; the Indians who were suitably armed represented the infantry, and in the rear was a miscellaneous gathering, including many women and children.

The die was cast; the revolutionists marched onward without sign of fear or hesitation. There was no lack of food, and each one took what he wanted. The maize was in full ear, and haciendas well stocked with cattle lay on the line of route. As they passed through the villages, volunteers swelled their ranks, and many Spaniards were added to the number of the captives. Approaching San Miguel, Hidalgo halted, in order to surprise the town at nightfall. A picture of the virgin of Guadalupe was obtained, and raised on high above the throng, amid shouts of "Viva nuestra Señora de Guadalupe, y mueran los gachupines!" Henceforth this painting became the banner of the crusade, and while it waved on high, emblem of peace and intercession, many a brave deed and many a deed of blood was committed in defence of those rights and liberties which otherwise might never have been vouchsafed to the people of Mexico.

Meanwhile, intelligence of the uprising had reached San Miguel; and the Spanish residents, aware that no reliance could be placed in the garrison, assembled in arms at the municipal buildings for self-defence. At dusk, the revolutionists entered the town, and were received with deafening cheers by the inhabitants, while bitter denunciations were hurled against the Spaniards. After some parley, the latter were induced to deliver up their arms, Allende assuring them that they should be protected. During the night, however, and on the following morning, the populace began to show symptoms of violence, and soon became uncontrollable. After

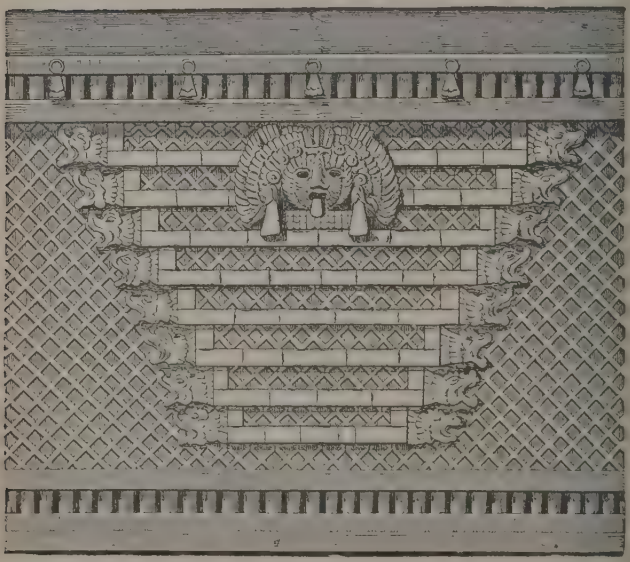
liberating the prisoners in the jail, they gathered in dense throngs before the houses in the Spanish quarter, with much uproar and cries of "Death to the gachupines!" Doors were battered in, dwellings and shops were plundered; and the disorder continued until Allende rode, sword in hand, through the crowd, threatening the offenders with death. Later a conference was held, to which the principal citizens were invited, for the purpose of restoring tranquillity.

On the 18th of September, Hidalgo led his forces out of San Miguel, having first appropriated the money in the public treasury, and all that could be found on the persons of the Spanish captives. Marching through Chamacuero, and San Juan de la Vega, on the 21st they entered the city of Celaya, where the revolutionists, joined by the populace, rushed through the streets and broke into the dwellings of the Europeans, casting their furniture into the streets, carrying off all articles of value, and wantonly destroying the remainder. Remonstrances were made to Hidalgo, but without effect, for he declared that such license was needed to weaken his foes, and attract partisans to the revolutionary cause.

In taking this ground, Hidalgo has been severely censured; but there is much to be said in extenuation. He claimed that, in the first instance, the natives had been unjustly deprived of their lands, property, and rights, and that the wealth acquired by the Spaniards belonged to the descendants of the original owners of the soil. Robbery had been committed by the Castilians in wresting their domain from the Mexicans, and to win back their possessions the latter must adopt similar measures. Moreover, such was their only resource, for there was no money wherewith to pay the troops, except what could be taken from the enemy. Again, the customs of the times, which were more barbarous then than now, should be considered. These views, although they may have been no justification for pillage and slaughter, were put in practice by the revolutionists throughout the War of Independence.

Before Hidalgo's entrance into Celaya, his followers, numbering 50,000 men, proclaimed him captain-general of America, and on Allende was conferred the rank of lieutenant-general.

The authority of the former was recognized by the municipality; and on the morning of the 23d of September, the forces of the revolutionists set forth toward the city of Guanajuato.



CHAPTER XXXII.

FALL OF GUANAJUATO.

THE province of Guanajuato was the theatre of the first tragic events of the revolution, and no city in Mexico suffered more severely than did its capital. At the time of the conquest of Mexico, this territory was inhabited by barbarous tribes, living on the produce of the chase; and here for seventy years the Chichimecs maintained with persistent bravery their right to the soil, until peace was concluded, on condition that the natives should be supplied with food and clothing, and that in return their chieftains should keep in subjection the refractory.

After the discovery of valuable mines, about the middle of the sixteenth century, Guanajuato prospered rapidly, and in 1786, when intendencias were first established, became one of the principal divisions. Meanwhile, the leading town had been raised to the dignity of a city, and presented with a coat of arms, its progress being somewhat remarkable. At the opening of the nineteenth century, more than 1,800 mines were being worked, or had been exhausted; there were 116 mills and 366 other buildings, where 11,500 quintales of ore were treated daily, the total number of miners and operatives being estimated at 9,000, and of inhabitants at 66,000. Nor were the agricultural industries of the district in a less flourishing condition; thriving settlements being surrounded by rich pastures and fields of grain, extending over hundreds of square leagues; but now, like the flail of destruction, war fell on the devoted city, and at its conclusion the population was diminished to 6,000 souls, while grass grew in the unfrequented streets, and houses were offered, free of rent, to all who would consent to occupy them.

When news was received of the outbreak of the revolution,

the intendente, Riaño, summoned the people to arms; the troops were mustered, and the leading citizens, seizing their weapons, rushed to the buildings of the intendencia. All was confusion and terror; the stores were closed; the house-doors barred; the plazas deserted; frightened women hurried along the thoroughfares; and horsemen, galloping at full speed through the streets with orders from headquarters, served to increase the consternation.

A meeting was summoned, consisting of the members of the town council, the prelates of the religious orders, and the prin-

Coat of Arms — Guanajuato.

cipal inhabitants. After some consultation, it was determined to defend the city, and barricades were erected at the entrances of the principal streets. Spaniards and creoles assembled in arms; detachments were posted on the highways leading to Dolores and San Miguel, and an appeal for aid was sent to Brigadier Felix Calleja, in command of the troops at San Luis Potosí. For six days defensive measures were continued, and still no enemy appeared. Meanwhile, however, the energy

and endurance of the intendente were taxed to the uttermost, for the disaffection of the lower classes was becoming constantly more apparent. "The seeds of rebellion spread," he writes to Calleja on the 26th; "security and confidence are gone. I have neither rested nor undressed myself since the 17th, and for the last three days have not slept an hour at a time." The task of saving, if possible, the royal treasury and archives increased Riaño's anxiety, and deeming his present arrangements defective, he decided to retire to the alhóndiga de granaditas, or public granary, a building possessing almost the strength of a fortification.

The alhóndiga de granaditas, which became no less famous in the annals of Mexico than did the Bastile in the history of France, was built by Riaño for the storage of corn sufficient for one year's consumption in case of a failure of the crops. A massive, oblong, two-story structure, its exterior being void of ornament, and its lofty solid walls pierced with windows opening into the numerous storerooms, it was the only stronghold in which the intendente could hope to maintain his position until the arrival of Calleja, which was expected within a week. On the night of the 24th were secretly conveyed to this building the royal and municipal treasures and the archives of the government and town council, to which were added a large quantity of merchandise and valuables belonging to private individuals, the entire amount of property stored in the alhóndiga being estimated at $5,000,000. The troops, with their arms and ammunition, were then removed from the barracks and outlying posts; the barricades were torn down, and a number of Europeans took refuge within the walls of the building.

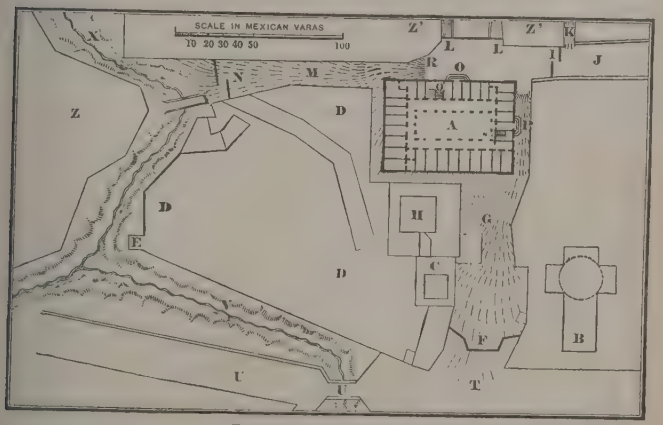
When morning dawned, the unguarded streets, the disappearance of the barricades, and the unoccupied barracks gave warning to the populace that they were now left to protect themselves. Fear fell on all; but in vain did the people endeavor to induce Riaño to change his purpose. He bluntly declared that, in the interest of the king, he should remain

with the troops where he was, while as for the city, it must defend itself as best it could. During the two following days the alhóndiga was thoroughly provisioned; strong barricades were thrown up at points where it was open to attack from the streets; the principal gateway was closed with solid masonry; iron quicksilver flasks were charged with gun-powder, and converted into grenades, and messengers were again despatched to Calleja informing him of the scarcity of arms, and the doubtful fidelity of the troops.

In order that Riaño's position, and the mode of attack adopted by the revolutionists, may be clearly understood, a brief description of Guanajuato will be necessary. Situated in a deep and narrow hollow, and surrounded on all sides by lofty mountains, its location, in a military point of view, was of the worst. On the south side rose the hill of San Miguel, while toward the north the Cerro del Cuarto extended like a wedge into the city. Even in the plaza there were few level spots, and most of the houses were built on slopes so steep that the floor of one was often on a level with the roof of another. This rugged hollow extended in a south-westerly direction to the village of Marfil, a league distant, the entire length being occupied by workshops, mills, and other buildings connected with mining. To the east was the River Guanajuato, at this point a mere mountain torrent, sweeping in a winding course through the city, and uniting with the Rio de la Cata from the north-west. Although situated on a rising ground, the alhóndiga was so close to the Cerro del Cuarto that the houses built on the latter were only separated by a narrow street and a plaza not more than twenty-five yards in width. South-east of the alhóndiga was the convent of Belen, between them being the declivity of the hill of Mendizábal; on the south and west were the extensive workshops and premises of the hacienda de Dolores. On the north was the street of Los Pozitos, in a straight line with the descent to the Rio de la Cata, which was spanned by a wooden bridge. Subjoined is a plan of the alhóndiga and its vicinity, accompanied with explanations.

An assault could be made from the street of Los Pozitos, the hill of Mendizábal, or the ascent from the Rio de la Cata, all these approaches being protected by barricades. Riaño did not, however, confine his operations to the alhóndiga, but included in his line of defence the principal buildings on the hill of Mendizábal and the hacienda de Dolores, which were protected by strong walls and separated from the government granary by narrow streets.

On the morning of the 28th of September, Hidalgo approached Guanajuato, and being well informed of the condi-



PLAN OF ALHÓNDIGA.

tion of affairs in the city, he sent a message to the intendente urging a peaceable surrender, but threatening war to the knife in case of refusal. After consulting with his officers and men, Riaño determined to fight, and at once made disposition of his forces, which consisted only of four companies of the provincial battalion, and one of civilians, in all some 500 strong, together with two troops of dragoons, mustering about seventy sabres. Detachments of infantry were stationed on the roof of the alhóndiga, a body of reserves being posted within the

building, while the cavalry were drawn up inside the barrier, at the descent to the Rio de la Cata, and the defence of the hacienda de Dolores was intrusted to a party of civilians. During these preparations, it was observed that the surrounding heights were occupied by crowds of the populace, who seated themselves on the ground and looked calmly on as if at a bull-fight.

Shortly before midday Hidalgo's army appeared in sight, approaching by the Marfil road. The van was composed of a strong body of Indians, who, armed with lances and clubs, bows and arrows, advanced along the causeway of Our Lady of Guanajuato, and crossing the bridge, arrived in front of the barricade at the foot of the hill of Mendizábal. Driven back at the first fire, however, they took up a position on the Cerro del Cuarto. Meanwhile the main body formed in two divisions, one of which scaled the heights of San Miguel, and entering the city, liberated the prisoners in the public jail, and the other was drawn up in support of the van on the Cerro del Cuarto.

The city was now in possession of the revolutionists, and as they marched through the streets the battle-cry was raised by thousands of voices, while above them waved the banners of the virgin of Guadalupe. The miners and the remainder of the populace joined the followers of Hidalgo, and soon all the heights which commanded the alhóndiga were completely occupied, the houses in its front being filled with sharpshooters. Pistol in hand, the captain-general rode at the head of 2,000 mounted men, and hastening from point to point, made his dispositions for the attack.

At length the assault began in earnest. A fire of musketry was opened on the besieged, and from the house roofs missiles were rained on the alhóndiga. Dense masses of Indians attacked the barricades, and though volleys, fired at close range into their serried ranks, caused fearful carnage, the assailants did not yield an inch. As those in front were mown down, their places were supplied by others, pressed forward by the

weight of the column, and thus over the bodies of the dead and dying the contest raged without intermission. Meanwhile a party stationed at the barrier in the street of Los Pozitos was hard pressed, and Riaño, at the head of twenty men, sallied forth to their support. Returning, he escaped unhurt through a storm of missiles, but as he mounted the steps of the alhóndiga, was pierced by a bullet through the brain, and his body dragged lifeless within.

The death of the commander spread confusion in the ranks of the besieged, and soon all discipline was lost. The defenders at the barricades, no longer able to hold their position, were ordered to retire to the alhóndiga, and its ponderous gates were hastily closed, leaving outside the cavalry and the detachment stationed at the hacienda de Dolores. The former were instantly surrounded, and the captain and many others were slain; of the rest a few escaped in the crowd, and others joined the ranks of the revolutionists. The roof of the alhóndiga was no longer tenable, and those who held it were driven below. As yet, however, there was no thought of surrender, and the crowded ranks of the assailants, who thronged the front of the building, were constantly thinned by the fire of the besieged. Presently a number of miners, protected by huge earthen vessels, crept up to the building, and with the use of crow-bars, attempted to make a breach in the walls. Failing in this endeavor, one of the party set fire to the gates, and as they gradually yielded to the flames, Major Berzábal, who was now in command, drew up such forces as he could muster to resist the final assault.

While the fire was eating its way into the gates, the besiegers rushed madly against them, only to be driven back by grenades, hurled rapidly upon them from the windows, each bomb, as it exploded, covering the ground with dead and mangled bodies.

But the civilians were now in a state of panic fear. Some scattered their gold among the raging multitude. As well might they have thrown crumbs to famished wolves; for were

not all the treasures of the alhóndiga about to fall into their hands? Some threw aside their arms in despair, and sought to disguise themselves; some cried piteously for quarter, and others betook themselves to prayer. A few only held out till the last, resolved to die rather than yield. Finally, all hope being abandoned, and further resistance deemed useless, one of the officers caused a white flag to be hoisted in token of surrender. In dense crowds the revolutionists again surged forward, but the intendente's son, Gilberto Riaño, ignorant of what had been done, still plied them with the deadly grenades. Thereupon the assailants were beside themselves with fury; all over the city was heard the roar of the frenzied multitude as they raised the cry of Treachery! treachery! and orders were given to kill, and spare not. Against the still burning gates they threw themselves, overturning them, and swarming across the blazing débris at the entrance. They were received with a deadly volley, fired at point-blank range by Berzábal's musketeers, strewing the ground with their dead; but surging onward, the human wave overwhelmed this feeble band, and the major, with a few survivors, made his last stand in a corner of the court-yard.

The struggle was brief. Officers and men were soon stretched lifeless on the pavement; the standard-bearers fell, and Berzábal, grasping the colors in his left hand, faced his assailants alone, parrying their lance thrusts with his sword. At length, pierced with a dozen weapons, he sank exhausted to the ground, still clasping with his dying clutch the royal standard. The victors then rushed forward through all parts of the building, slaughtering without mercy or discrimination. Even those who had surrendered were put to the sword, and civilians who had taken refuge in their own dwellings were dragged forth and ruthlessly butchered. Above the din, shots were still heard in the alhóndiga, as here and there some victim dearly sold his life; but fainter and fainter grew these sounds, until presently they ceased. Then, for a brief space, was heard the dull, heavy thud of the death-blow; and then all was still; resistance was at an end

The carnage over, the alhóndiga was given up to pillage. From the dead and dying were torn their clothes and valuables; the storerooms were ransacked and the treasures carried off, the spoilers fighting among themselves for the spoils. In all parts of the court-yard, singly or in heaps, lay human bodies, some of them horribly mangled. Nude, distorted forms lay stretched on heaps of maize, saturated with blood, and on piles of silver bars dyed crimson; over pavements slippery with gore, blood-stained ruffians staggered under the weight of their plunder, and from all quarters were heard the hoarse shouts and savage oaths of the multitude, whose gratification resembled that of a beast of prey as it tears its victim limb from limb, and scatters around the quivering fragments.

When the combat ceased, orders were given to conduct to the public jail the few prisoners whose lives had been spared. Naked, wounded, and bound with cords, they were dragged or driven through the streets, with insults, blows, and threats of death, some of them dying on the way and others perishing in prison. Gilberto Riaño was permitted to retire to a private dwelling, where a few days later he died of his wounds. Among the slain were most of the principal citizens, and youths belonging to the first families of Guanajuato. As to the number of victims, there are no reliable data, but it probably exceeded 600, including soldiers and civilians, while of the revolutionists, there fell not less than 2,500, of whom many were trampled to death.

In the capture of the alhóndiga, no military tactics were displayed. Hidalgo's dispositions consisted merely of general directions to occupy the commanding heights, and after the first attack the leaders had little control over their followers, who were, in fact, little better than an armed mob. Yet, though most of them fought for the first time in their lives, they displayed all the valor of veteran troops, and notwithstanding their excesses, there were not wanting instances of self-sacrifice and true heroism. If, at the sight of blood,—their own blood and that of their comrades,—they became for the moment demons

incarnate, this is no more than has happened to other infuriated multitudes, even within the life-time of the present generation. As an instance of the recklessness displayed by the revolutionists, it is related that one of them seized a grenade thrown down from the alhóndiga, and attempted to tear out the lighted fuse with his teeth. The bomb exploded, blowing him to pieces. "It matters not," exclaimed his comrades; "there are thousands more at his back!"

When victory declared for the assailants, those who had passively looked on from the surrounding heights swarmed into the city to join in the plunder. No sooner had the alhóndiga been stripped of its treasures than a general onslaught was made on the European quarter. During the night, and for several succeeding days, pillage, riot, and devastation were unchecked. Above the roar of human voices were heard the blows of axes and crowbars, the rending of timbers, and the crash of falling houses. In the mills and workshops the precious metals, quicksilver, and implements were seized and the machinery destroyed, while merchandise of every description was carried away from the stores. Bales of cambric and of cloth, sacks of cacao, and barrels of spirituous liquor were rolled into the streets, and sold to any who would purchase them for whatever they would bring, some of the Indians bartering ounces of gold for a few reales to the men of Guanajuato, who declared them to be merely copper medals.

Drunken men arrayed themselves in the stolen garb of their victims, and staggered along the streets barefooted, though arrayed in bright uniforms and with embroidered coats. The iron railings of the balconies were torn from houses and the gratings from windows. At night the streets were lighted with smoking torches, around which human beings yelled and gesticulated in every stage of intoxication. In vain did Hidalgo attempt to stay the disorder. His proclamations were unheeded, and the rioters ceased only when nothing remained to be plundered. Then, indeed, the scene was pitiful. The streets were

covered with débris, — with the wreck of furniture and damaged merchandise; thousands of families were hopelessly ruined; silence reigned within the bare walls of the deserted houses, and the curse of the destroying angel seemed to have fallen on the fair city of Guanajuato.

Alhóndiga de Granaditas.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

HIDALGO'S MARCH TOWARD MEXICO.

At the first outbreak of the rebellion, the viceroy gave little heed to the matter, believing it to be nothing more than a passing tumult; but when, day by day, he was informed of Hidalgo's progress, and of the defection of the provincial troops, he began to realize the serious nature of the insurrection. His position was in truth a difficult one; but he now applied himself with all his energy to the task of holding the country to its allegiance. At this date there were no European troops in Mexico, the combatants on either side being sons of the soil; and it is necessary to bear this in mind, in order to appreciate the difficulties with which the government was confronted.

The total number of men at the disposal of Venegas did not exceed 10,000 or 12,000, and the rank and file were composed almost exclusively of mestizos, mulattoes, and other castes. These troops, forming the regiments of the line and the provincial militia, though commanded mainly by Spaniards, were to a great extent officered by creoles. It is not, therefore, a matter for surprise that, considering the smallness of their numbers and their doubtful loyalty, the viceroy was somewhat anxious as to the issue of the campaign.

His first measure was to despatch to Querétaro a force sufficient for its protection; but in doing so he was compelled to leave the capital almost without garrison. To provide for the safety of the latter, regiments of infantry were withdrawn from other towns; two battalions were formed from the sailors and marines on board the men-of-war lying at Vera Cruz; the volunteers of Ferdinand VII. were mustered into service, and a corps of 500 lancers was raised by Yermo from the laborers on his estates. Meanwhile the commandants at the cities

of Guadalajara and San Luis Potosí were organizing additional brigades.

But military operations were not the only means to be employed in crushing the rebellion. Rewards were offered by the government for the death or capture of Hidalgo, Allende, and Aldama, all of whom were excommunicated by the church with the usual anathemas. Hidalgo was cited to appear before the inquisition, and charged with heresy and apostasy; from the pulpit he was denounced as a monster of evil, while the royal university of Mexico gloried in the fact that he had never yet received the degree of doctor from that institution.

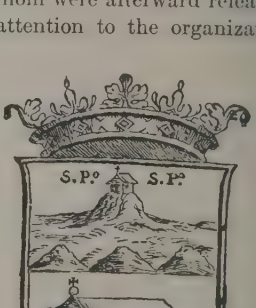
No means were spared that would tend to prejudice the cause of the revolutionists. The bishops and the higher orders of the clergy issued exhortations, representing in the darkest colors their deeds and purpose. The archbishop published edicts and pastorals; officials and politicians, learned doctors of the law and learned doctors of theology, poured forth on them the bitterest denunciations, and the press teemed with abuse in prose and doggerel verse. At the same time the governors of provinces and other authorities were urged to express their loyalty, and to denounce the revolt, while the Indians were conciliated by a remission of tribute, and by measures for the improvement of their condition.

These proceedings were not without effect; the heaviest blow sustained by the revolutionists being dealt by the inquisition and the church. The brand of heresy stamped on their leaders, the ban of the greater excommunication, and the dread that the same appalling fate might overtake themselves, all working on the minds of a people devoutly attached to their faith, deterred for a time the disaffected. Hidalgo fully recognized that he must fight with other weapons than those used on the battle-field, and a few weeks later he caused to be published in the city of Guadalajara, which had then fallen into his power, a reply to the citation of the inquisition. He solemnly declared that he had never departed from the doctrines of the Catholic faith; he rebutted the accusation of

heresy; pointed out the evils which oppressed the people of Mexico; and called on them to shake off their fetters, and appoint a congress which should dictate to all beneficent and discriminating laws. He ordered the emancipation of slaves under penalty of death to their owners; released the people, of whatever caste, from the payment of tribute, and thus by his policy succeeded in counteracting to a great extent the measures to which his opponents had resorted.

After restoring order at Guanajuato, and providing for the wants of his prisoners, most of whom were afterward released, the captain-general turned his attention to the organization

ARMS OF VALLADOLID, 1810.



ARMS OF VALLADOLID, 1803.

and equipment of his army. As yet his troops were armed only with the rudest weapons. Attempts at the manufacture of hand-mortars from quicksilver flasks had failed, as had also experiments in the casting of cannon and the fabrication of cannon from wood. Although Hidalgo's treasury now contained more than half a million of dollars, most of it was in silver bars, and it became necessary to establish a mint. The work of constructing the machinery and preparing the dies

was completed on the 25th of November, almost the very day on which, as will presently appear, the royalists under Calleja recaptured the city.

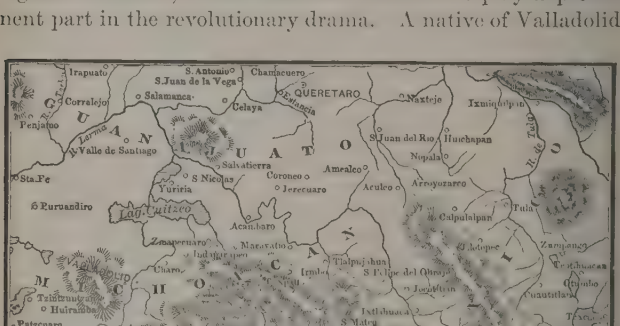
Fully aware of the preparations being made by Calleja for the suppression of the rebellion, and of the fact that Querétaro was prepared to resist attack, Hidalgo resolved to march on Valladolid, and on the 10th of October set forth in that direction with the main body of his forces. When the authorities heard of the danger which threatened their city, they were undecided as to their course of action, and the more so because they found themselves without a governor, or even a military leader. At first some show was made of preparation for defence; but on the approach of Hidalgo all thought of resistance vanished, and many of the Europeans departed at once for the capital.

The vanguard of the revolutionists reached the suburbs of Valladolid without opposition, and two days later the captain-general came up in person at the head of 60,000 men. Here he was joined by several well armed and disciplined battalions, and to his supply of cannon, consisting of two bronze and two wooden guns, more dangerous probably to his followers than to the foe, were added several pieces of artillery. Already he had decided to march on the capital, and at once, for Calleja's preparations were almost completed. On the 20th of October he put his men in motion toward Mexico. Near the town of Acámbaro he held a review of his forces and divided them into regiments of infantry and cavalry, each 1,000 strong. At a council of the principal officers, he was proclaimed generalissimo, while on Allende was conferred the rank of captain-general, and Aldama and others were appointed lieutenants-general.

To oppose Hidalgo's hosts, Venegas had about 7,000 men at his disposal; and when news was received of his advance, he placed Lieutenant-Colonel Trujillo in charge of a strong corps of observation, with orders if possible to arrest the advance of the revolutionists. The choice was a most unfortunate one,

for the colonel possessed neither the respect nor esteem of those around him. As a man his followers hated him; as a soldier they held him in contempt; and as a military commander his career was marked with cruelty and treachery.

At this time there was in Mexico a young lieutenant who had recently arrived from the capital of Michoacan, driven thence by the approach of the revolutionists. His name was Agustin Iturbide, a man destined hereafter to play a prominent part in the revolutionary drama. A native of Valladolid



HIDALGO'S MARCH TOWARD MEXICO.

and of distinguished parentage, he was intrusted, when only fifteen years of age, with the management of one of his father's haciendas; but soon afterward was appointed ensign in a provincial battalion of infantry, and thenceforth adopted the military profession. The first historical mention of him occurs in the official journal of September 21, 1808, where he is commended for his zeal in offering support to the government after the deposal of Iturrigaray. Before taking the field, Hidalgo invited Iturbide to join his cause, promising to promote him to high command. The offer was refused; and when the former drew near to Valladolid, the lieutenant, seeing no pros-

pect of a successful defence, set forth for Mexico with seventy men of his regiment whose loyalty remained unshaken. Obtaining permission to join Trujillo's command, he entered upon a career which in some respects was the most remarkable in the annals of the revolution.

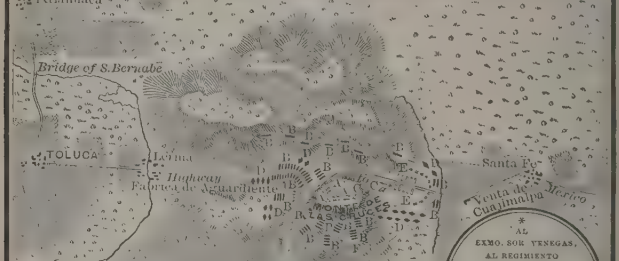
Arriving at Toluca, Trujillo sent forward a detachment to seize the bridge of San Bernabé, and operate between it and Ixtlahuaca, where Hidalgo had arrived. On the 27th of October, the royalist leader advanced with the main body for the

FIELD OF OPERATIONS.

purpose of attacking the revolutionists at the latter point; but meeting his advanced guard in full flight, and hearing that the generalissimo was approaching with all his forces, he fell back on the town of Lerma. On the following day no enemy appeared in sight, and Trujillo, suspecting that his opponent was marching toward the bridge of Atengo, with a view to occupying the Santiago road, and thus cutting off his retreat, gave instructions to guard that point and destroy the bridge. The order was not carried out, however, and on the 29th Allende carried the position and gained possession of the road.

Meanwhile Hidalgo was marching on Lerma, and, threatened

in flank and rear, Trujillo was compelled to retreat toward the capital. Reaching the Monte de las Cruces only half an hour in advance of the revolutionists, he was joined by a considerable re-enforcement, among them being a party of Yermo's lancers; and though his entire force mustered less than 3,000 men, he resolved to accept battle. The position was a strong



BATTLE-FIELD OF LAS CRUCES.

A. Infantry of the royal army.
B. Infantry of the insurgents.
C. Cavalry of the royal army.
D. Cavalry of the insurgents.
E. Royal troops on the march.
F. Insurgent troops on the march.

one, but had the disadvantage of being commanded on the south by thickly wooded hills, and by the heights skirting the Toluca road.

At eight o'clock on the morning of the 30th the action commenced with skirmishing between the royalist cavalry and guerilla bands in advance of the main body of the revolutionists. At eleven the column of attack, flanked and supported by cavalry, and with the artillery in front, appeared in sight on the Toluca road. Trujillo placed his field-pieces in such a position as to enfilade the approach, but screened from

sight by branches of trees; while Yermo's lancers, under Captain Antonio Bringas, supported by two companies of infantry, were placed in ambush on a wooded height at some distance from the left flank. The centre he held under his own command, with José de Mendívil in front, covering his position.

Hidalgo had left the dispositions for battle in the hands of Allende, who made preparations to surround Trujillo, while his attention was diverted by the attack on his centre. For this purpose, strong detachments of the best armed Indians, both foot and horse, were sent by long detours to take possession of the heights commanding Trujillo's flanks, and a force of 3,000 men occupied the road to Mexico in the enemy's rear. A select body of 1,200 of the best disciplined troops, in charge of Aldama, was also deployed on the right flank, out of range of Trujillo's artillery, and opposite the point where Bringas lay in ambush.

When the attacking column came within close range, Trujillo opened on them with grape and canister from his masked batteries, and with such deadly effect that the undisciplined masses in front were driven back in confusion on the regulars. The latter, however, held their ground and replied with artillery, a brisk fire being maintained along the front of both armies, from which the assailants suffered considerable loss. Perceiving that he could hold the enemy's centre in check, the royalist commander ordered Bringas to attack them in flank, while Iturbide was sent with a force of infantry to occupy a steep wooded height at some distance from Trujillo's right.

Bringas charged with great impetuosity; but after a fierce struggle his men were repulsed, their commander falling mortally wounded. Nor was Trujillo more successful in his manœuvre on the right. Allende had already marked the importance of the position on which Iturbide was marching, and unnoticed by the royalists had taken possession of it in person with a force of infantry and one piece of ordnance. Thus when the latter had almost reached the summit, he suddenly found himself confronted by the enemy, and a brisk

encounter followed, resulting in the defeat of the revolutionists. The repulse of Bringas' forces, however, caused the royalist commander to recall Iturbide, whereupon Allende rallied his men and took possession of the height.

Trujillo was now completly surrounded, and his position was becoming hopeless. On his right was Allende; on his left was Aldama, now strongly re-enforced, and with two pieces of artillery placed in a commanding position; in rear, a large body of troops was posted on his line of retreat, and in front Mendívil, who was severely wounded, could no longer maintain his post. It was three o'clock in the afternoon, and the enemy had approached so near to Trujillo's left that the combatants were within speaking distance. At this juncture the royalist commander was guilty of an act which has forever branded his name with infamy. Believing themselves masters of the field, the victors invited the foe to join their cause; and so favorably were they heard that Trujillo was thrice induced by his officers to hold parley with them in front of his line of infantry. Meanwhile hostilities ceased. Friendly and specious were the words used by the leader, and at each conference the revolutionists, gathering in crowded ranks around their spokesman, drew nearer and nearer.

Now did the fate of Mexico hang in the balance, for if Hidalgo had received an accession to his ranks of nearly 3,000 disciplined troops, with their arms and ammunition, it is probable that his cause would have been successful. But at the third parley, Trujillo, having enticed the unsuspecting foe close up to the points of his bayonets, threw off the mask, and ordered his men to fire. In an instant sixty of the revolutionists lay stretched on the ground, the victims of his perfidy; and infuriated by this act of treachery, their comrades at once renewed the conflict.

The royalists held their ground for two hours longer, when, after losing one third of his force in killed and wounded, including many of his best officers, Trujillo resolved to force a passage through the enemy posted in his rear. There was,

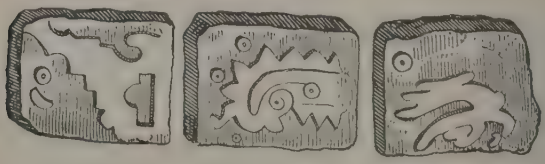
indeed, no other alternative except to surrender, and under the circumstances, capitulation would probably have been followed by a general butchery. Abandoning his cannon, he put himself at the head of his choicest regiment, and followed by the remainder in close column, regained the Santiago road at the point of the bayonet, on the following day arriving at the capital. Here, as there were none to contradict him, his defeat was made to appear a victory, and a medal was issued in commemoration of his glorious achievements, and of the success of the royal arms.

Although Hidalgo remained master of the field, the victory was dearly purchased. For the first time the revolutionists had confronted any considerable force of royalists, and the result was far from encouraging. Their losses amounted, according to Trujillo's estimate, to 2,000 in killed and wounded, and including deserters, were estimated by other authorities at a much higher figure. The Indians were terror-stricken at the havoc wrought by the enemy's artillery, the deadly effect of which they witnessed for the first time; and even disciplined regiments were dismayed at the stubborn resistance offered by a handful of men against overwhelming numbers. Thus, when on the morning after the victory Hidalgo arrived at the village of Cuajimalpa, where during the retreat the rear guard of the royalists had repulsed his cavalry almost without effort, there he halted, and for three days remained inactive, though urged by Allende to march at once on Mexico.

Meanwhile, throughout the capital forebodings of evil were not diminished by the reappearance of the royalist commander, who, with all his braggadocio, had returned with but a remnant of his forces. Quanajuato had fallen, Valladolid had surrendered, and now Mexico was threatened. On the last day of October the excitement was intense, and every cloud of dust was thought to herald the coming of the foe. Treasure and jewelry were concealed; men were panic-stricken and amazed; women begged for asylum in the nunneries, and even the viceroy proposed to seek refuge in Vera Cruz. But the hours passed, and no enemy appeared.

Now surely the opportunity had come; but where was the man? Hidalgo was not a professional soldier: he was not even a soldier at all; nor did he pretend to be. He was not even a man of the world. He worked neither for fame, nor power, nor money, but merely to aid his country in its progress toward independence, though the full glory of the triumph he never expected to see. Yet he would do what he could, and for his cause would cheerfully give up his life. More than once had he offered to surrender his command in favor of Allende; but in the curate of Dolores and in no other would the multitude trust.

Mexico lay at his feet, the city of the Montezumas, the city of Cortés, a prize that would, perhaps, have tempted a more ambitious or resolute commander; but in the capital were men, money, arms, ammunition, while in the ranks of the revolutionists were few disciplined regiments. To win the battle of Las Cruces against a mere handful of royalists had cost him 2,000 lives, and what would be the sacrifice should he attempt to follow up his hard-won victory? Moreover, at this juncture a despatch from the viceroy was intercepted, in which were instructions to Calleja to put his troops at once in motion; and Calleja, a veteran officer, who had served as lieutenant-colonel under Revilla Gigedo, was already on his march from San Luis Potosí. Thus it was that no enemy appeared in sight of the capital, and after three days' inaction at Cuajimalpa, the generalissimo gave orders to retreat.



CHAPTER XXXIV.

PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION.

Felix Calleja del Rey, the future viceroy of Mexico, had served as an ensign during the disastrous expedition against Algiers, in the reign of Charles III. Accompanying Revilla Gigedo to New Spain in 1789, his ability and faithful services had already won for him the approbation of the six viceroys who preceded Venegas.

Breaking camp on the 24th of October, he set forward for Dolores, where, being joined by the forces of Colonel Flon, he found at his disposal about 7,000 men, with eight pieces of artillery. His intention was to march on the capital by way of Acámbaro and Toluca, following in the track of the revolutionists; but being diverted by a rumored insurgent attack on Querétaro, he reached that city on the very day of the battle of Las Cruces.

Again changing his route, he arrived at Arroyo Zarco on the 6th of November; meanwhile Hidalgo's forces, following the line of route by which they had advanced, were now at Ixtlahuaca. Thence Hidalgo, not being informed as to Calleja's movements, turned aside toward Querétaro, expecting to capture that city almost without resistance; and now the royalist and revolutionary forces were converging toward the same point without each other's knowledge.

The retreat from Mexico fell like a chill on Hidalgo's army, which had been kept together partly by hope of plunder, and was already thinned by desertion to some 30,000 or 40,000 men. Moreover, Allende and Aldama were distrustful of their colleague, or perhaps objected, as military men, to be led by a priest.

On the 6th of November, Calleja's advanced guard encountered a detachment of the revolutionists at Arroyo Zarco,

and after a sharp skirmish put them to flight. From the prisoners it was ascertained that the main body was posted at the neighboring town of Aculco, and Calleja at once made dispositions for battle.

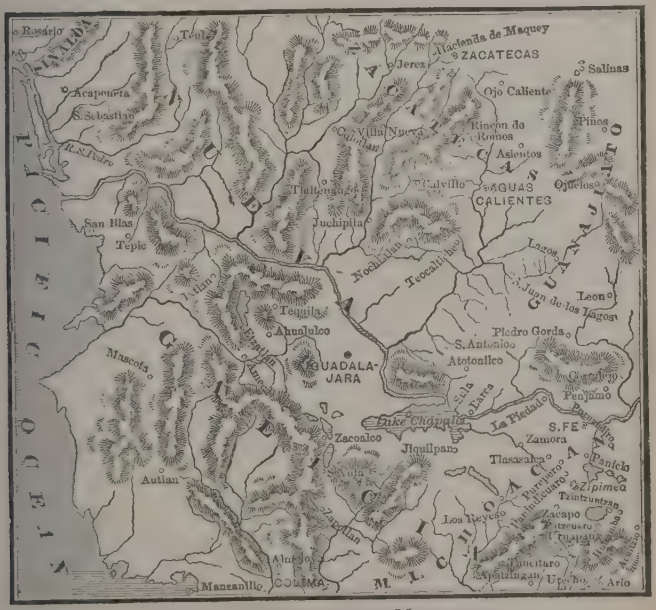
Hidalgo's forces were drawn up in two lines on the summit of a rectangular hill overlooking the town and surrounded by ravines and gullies. The encounter or skirmish which followed was merely a feint on the part of the revolutionary

THE AFFAIR AT ACULCO.

leaders, for the purpose of covering their retreat. Pushing forward in three columns, the royalist infantry were met only with a sluggish fire of artillery, the cannon-balls passing high overhead; and on scaling the height, found the position abandoned. Later, the cavalry came into action, and though they did little execution, succeeded in capturing all of the enemy's cannon, baggage, and ammunition, together with a quantity of valuable merchandise.

For this so-called victory, a solemn thanksgiving was proclaimed, and for a time it was supposed that the rebellion had come to an end; but the royalists were soon undeceived. The Cry of Dolores had struck deep into the hearts of the people,

and tidings of the battle of Las Cruces had spread far and wide throughout the land. Everywhere were gathered bands of insurgents, some intent only on plunder, while others harassed the enemy in ceaseless guerilla warfare. In the south the curate Morelos was commencing his glorious career; in



FIELD OF REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENTS.

central Mexico a vast extent of territory, from San Luis Potosí westward to the ocean, was overrun by the revolutionists. In New Galicia, Torres and Mercado captured San Blas and Guadalajara, Hidalgo establishing in the latter city his base of operations. Zacatecas came forward with one accord, the leading spirit in this district being a man styling himself Lieutenant-General Iriarte. No sooner had Calleja set forth

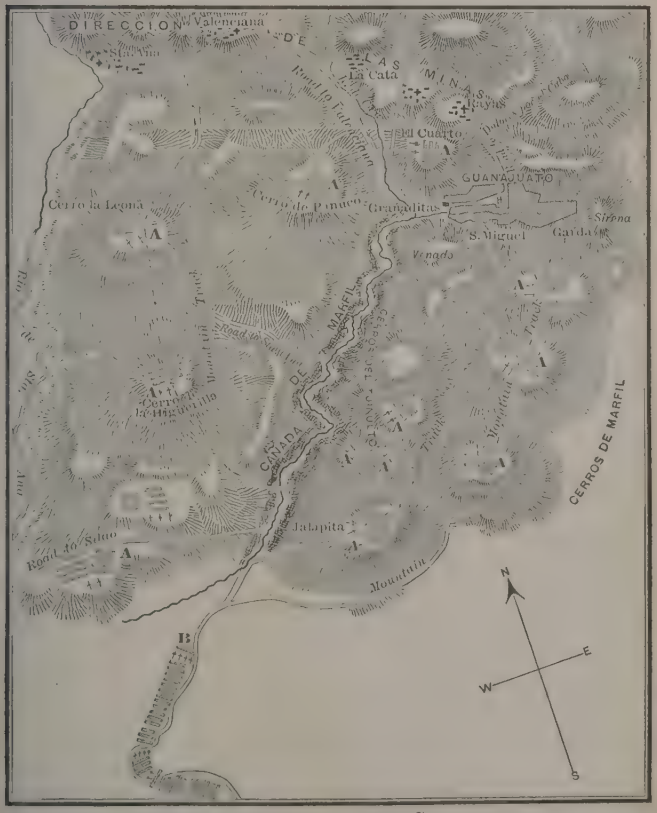
from San Luis Potosí than a plot was formed to gain possession of the city; and this the friar Herrera carried into execution with remarkable neatness and despatch. Soon afterward, however, Herrera was entrapped and thrown into prison by Iriarte, who had turned royalist, apparently for the purpose of helping himself to the royal treasury.

As to the movements of the revolutionary chieftains immediately after the affair at Aculco, the chroniclers are extremely reticent, little being known except that they made good their retreat to Celaya without further loss. In a circular issued by Hidalgo in that city, dated the 13th of November, he states that his forces had been reunited, and that he had at his command more than forty pieces of artillery, with an ample stock of ammunition.

Arriving about this date at Guanajuato, which was now threatened by the royalists, Allende posted batteries on ten different heights commanding the Marfil road, and also at a point known as the Rancho Seco. In the narrowest part of the road, no less than 1,500 holes were drilled for blasting, and connected with a single fuse, the intention being to set fire to it during the passage of Calleja's forces. Meanwhile, the captain-general strongly urged Hidalgo to come to his support; but the appeal was disregarded.

On the 23d of November, Calleja arrived at the Rancho de Molineros, distant some four leagues from Guanajuato, and at once determined to carry the enemy's position by storm. His plan was to attack in detail the ten batteries which flanked the Marfil road on either side; and for this purpose he formed his troops in two divisions, leading one of them in person against the batteries on the right, while Flon, at the head of the other column, dislodged the insurgents on the left. Both commanders were successful, the enemy's positions being captured in succession almost without loss. While Flon drew up his forces on the hill of San Miguel and the heights of Las Carreras, Calleja advanced along the Marfil road, and by a detour to the left avoided the defile where the mine had been

prepared. Meanwhile, the cavalry scoured the glens and the level ground, cutting off the retreat of the insurgents, and



ROYALIST OPERATIONS AGAINST GUANAJUATO.

A. Positions occupied by the insurgents. — — March of column led by Calleja.
B. The royalist army before the attack. - - - - March of column led by Flon.

slaughtering them without mercy. The conflict lasted for six hours, the difficulties encountered by the royalists being rather

from the steepness of the heights than from the opposition of the enemy, whose guns were so poorly served and mounted that they could be pointed only in one direction, while their want of small-arms prevented their infantry from making a stand.

The results of the day's operations were the capture of twenty-two pieces of artillery, the dispersion of a large body of Indians, and the investment of the city on the north and south. The losses on the side of the royalists were trifling, while of the revolutionists probably not less than 1,500 were slain.

And now the alhóndiga de granaditas again became the scene of an appalling massacre. No longer restrained by the interference of the revolutionary leaders, the people thronged the streets, amid demonstrations of fear and anger. They collected in dense crowds around the building, and with threatening gestures and angry look pointed to the quarters in which certain of the Spaniards captured by Hidalgo were still imprisoned. For a time they were restrained by the presence of the guard, but it chanced that Allende passed in that direction, and one of his party cried out, "Why do you not finish them?" pointing toward the captives. The words acted on the mob like a spark on a train of gunpowder, and now, intent on vengeance, they rushed with clubs and brandished knives toward the gateway. The work of massacre began, and soon the alhóndiga was heaped with mutilated corpses, stripped of every shred of clothing. A few only of the prisoners escaped by barricading themselves in the storerooms, whence they issued forth, while a cry was raised that the royalists were at hand.

So enraged was Calleja at this barbarous treatment of the Spaniards, that he gave instructions to his troops to put the inhabitants of the city to the sword, and numbers were butchered in the streets. Soon, however, he countermanded the order, intending to proceed with the work of slaughter in a more deliberate manner. On the morning of the 26th, the

carpenters of Guanajuato were employed in erecting gallows in all the principal thoroughfares of the city and in the plazas of the neighboring towns. While this was being done, sixty or seventy of those who had been arrested the previous day were put on their trial, and about one third of them were condemned to death. Their examination was of the briefest, and execution immediately followed, the place selected being within the walls of the alhóndiga. After sentence had been passed, the condemned were hurriedly shrived by a priest in one of the storerooms, and then led to the doorway, where they were blindfolded and shot.

The gallows came next into play, and at nightfall eighteen prominent men were dragged forth and hanged by torchlight in the plaza, around which the houses rose tier above tier on the surrounding hills, so that their occupants could gaze upon the tragedy as from the benches of an amphitheatre. At length the ringing of bells announced that Calleja had proclaimed a general pardon, two of those who had last been condemned being released while taking, as they supposed, their last look on earth and sky, and with halters around their necks.

Except that Hidalgo reached Celaya, nothing is known of his movements after the flight from Aculco, until, on the 14th or 15th of the same month, we find him at Valladolid. Notwithstanding his recent reverses, he was everywhere enthusiastically received, and at each town the people sallied forth to welcome the apostle of independence and do him honor. Organizing at Valladolid a force of 7,000 cavalry and 250 infantry, he set forth for Guadalajara, where he was met with a tumultuous ovation. As the cortege entered the city, and passed between dense lines of citizens drawn up on either side, from thousands of voices rang the welcoming viva! mingled with salvos of artillery, firing of rockets, and ringing of bells. At the door of the cathedral an altar had been placed, beside which stood the dean in canonical robes and presented Hidalgo with holy water. After this ceremony he proceeded to the

presbytery, where a te deum was chanted, and thence to the palace, where, in the grand saloon, beneath a richly ornamented canopy, he received the members of the audiencia, the civil corporations, and the ecclesiastical authorities.

Thus installed in office, Hidalgo proceeded to adjust existing differences between the military leaders, and to organize a formal government. For the latter purpose, he appointed two

IGNACIO LOPEZ RAYON.

persons to take charge of public affairs, one of them being Ignacio Lopez Rayon, with the title of secretary-general.

Rayon, who later became a prominent leader in the revolution, was a native of Tlalpujahua, a mining town in Michoacan, where he was born in 1773. At an early age he displayed a studious turn, and after receiving his early education at Valladolid, removed to the city of Mexico, where he studied jurisprudence and took his degree. When Hidalgo entered Michoacan, in October 1810, Rayon declared in favor of the

revolutionary cause, and issued a proclamation in Tlalpujahua, inviting the people to join him. Later he accompanied the former to the Monte de las Cruces, Aculco, and Guadalajara.

While Hidalgo remained at Guadalajara he issued several edicts which he deemed essential to his cause, among them being proclamations for the emancipation of slaves, the restoration of their lands to the Indians, and the prohibition of pillage and other excesses on the part of his followers. Meanwhile, he pushed forward with all possible despatch his military preparations. The arsenal at San Blas supplied him with cannon and munitions of war, and no less than forty-four pieces of artillery were conveyed thence over a most difficult road. Large numbers of recruits were enlisted; and to supply the want of small-arms, grenades and iron-pointed rockets were manufactured. No means were spared that would enable the revolutionists to meet Calleja in the field; but there was still wanting in their ranks the one great element of success in all military operations, and that was discipline.

On receiving intelligence of the capture of Guanajuato, Venegas again supposed that the rebellion was crushed, while, in reality, it was more widely spread than ever. The provinces of Nueva Galicia, Zacatecas, and San Luis Potosí were completely in the power of the insurgents, who at this juncture were not disposed to relax their efforts. An expedition to the provinces of Sinaloa and Sonora ended somewhat disastrously, its commander being surprised, and his followers slain or scattered; but in other directions the revolutionists were for a time successful. The district of Nuevo Santander declared in their favor. In Coahuila, a force of 2,000 royalists deserted to the enemy. Nuevo Leon joined in the movement, and even in Texas the royalist party was compelled to succumb. Thus the whole of that portion of Mexico which extends from San Luis Potosí to the United States had declared for independence.

But the revolutionists were now destined to suffer a series of

reverses, which shattered the hopes of all its friends. On the 16th of November, 1810, General José de la Cruz set forth from the capital at the head of a small detachment, afterward re-enforced to 2,000 men, directing his march against the insurgent leader Villagran, who was stationed at Huichapan, and had proved extremely troublesome to the royalists by interrupting their communications between Mexico and Querétaro. Warned of his danger, however, the latter retreated with all his followers to a strong position on the heights of a neighboring sierra. Entering Huichapan, Cruz met with a hearty welcome from the few royalists who remained in the town; but in order to prevent further mischief, he seized all articles of daily use that could possibly be converted into weapons, sparing neither the housewife's scissors, the laborer's implements, nor the artisan's tools. To the commander of a force sent in quest of other revolutionary captains, he gave orders to reduce to ashes every town and hacienda where insurgents were found, and to put the inhabitants to the sword. On the 14th of December, according to a plan of operations arranged by Calleja, he put his forces in motion toward Valladolid.

Calleja was now at Leon, where he arranged the coming campaign with a view of confining the main body of the enemy to the province of Nueva Galicia. While Cruz marched on Valladolid, reducing to obedience the disaffected towns, he so timed his movements as to arrive in the neighborhood of Guadalajara on the 15th of January; Calleja, approaching by way of Lagos, expected to reach that point at the same date. Meanwhile, the governor of Coahuila, after restoring order in San Luis Potosí, was to operate with his troops between Guanajuato and Querétaro, while another force was to enter Zacatecas and keep in subjection the territory extending southward as far as Leon. The design was well conceived; but the desertion of the royalists in Coahuila prevented the cordon being thus drawn around Hidalgo.

It had been arranged that Cruz should set forth from Va-

lladolid on the 1st of January, but he was detained in that city until the 7th, and thus Calleja's dispositions were further deranged. Moreover, Hidalgo had resolved to prevent, if possible, a junction between the two armies, and had instructed Colonel Mier, who was then stationed at Zamora, to oppose the advance of the former. At the head of more than 10,000 men, with twenty-seven pieces of artillery, Mier took up a strong position commanding a mountain gorge, about four leagues south-east of Zamora, through which lay the route of the royalists. But in an action fought on the 14th, he was totally defeated, with the loss of his cannon and ammunition. The delay thus caused served, however, to prevent his opponent from taking part in the decisive battle which occurred three days later at the bridge of Calderon.

The force now under Hidalgo's command was far superior to any that the revolutionists had thus far brought into the field, mustering no less than 80,000 men, of whom 20,000 were cavalry, and with 95 pieces of artillery, many of them of heavy calibre No exertion was spared by the leaders to render this huge army as efficient as possible. The enthusiasm of the troops was stimulated by encouraging addresses, and each day they were drilled and practised in manœuvres on the plains adjoining the city of Guadalajara. Most of them were still armed only with the sling and bow; but their weapons were better than those with which they had fought at Las Cruces, and a large supply of grenades had been distributed among the infantry.

On the 13th of January, Hidalgo received information that Calleja was advancing by forced marches toward Guadalajara, and immediately made preparations to occupy the bridge of Calderon, which spanned a small affluent of the Rio Grande de Lerma, eleven or twelve leagues distant from the city. On the following day he led forth his host, and as he compared it with the rabble which he had lately commanded, felt confident of victory. On the morning of the 15th he drew up in a strong position commanding the approaches to Guadalajara, planting

a battery of sixty-seven guns on a steep height on the left bank of the river. The latter point, almost inaccessible in front, was protected in rear by a deep ravine, and almost surrounded the open ground through which lay Calleja's line of advance. Flanking the main battery were smaller ones on the heights toward the right and left.

On the 16th the royalist array appeared in sight; but observing the almost impregnable position occupied by the

BATTLE-FIELD NEAR THE BRIDGE OF CALDERON.

enemy, Calleja at first sent forward merely a reconnoitring party, which, however, becoming engaged with their outposts, succeeded in gaining possession of the bridge. Thereupon re-enforcements were ordered up, and the bridge held until nightfall, when both armies bivouacked, the camp-fires of the revolutionists extending over a line three quarters of a league in length.

Calleja's force consisted of 6,000 men, of whom one half were cavalry, and all were thoroughly equipped and disciplined. He had also ten pieces of artillery, admirably served,

and an abundant supply of war material, while the revolutionists had but few muskets, and many of their cannon were worse than useless, some being carried in wagons, and others fashioned merely of wood, bound with hoops of iron.

On the morning of the 17th the royalist commander drew up his army in two divisions, with one of which he proposed to assail the enemy's right, while Flon, in charge of the other, attacked their left. The assault was to be made simultaneously, so that the two commands might fall, almost at the same moment, on the revolutionists' centre. At some little distance above the bridge a ford had been discovered, and leading his men across it, Flon at once began to scale the heights without even waiting for his artillery, which on account of the ruggedness of the ground must be dragged up by hand. Leading his troops against the first battery, he captured it at the point of the bayonet, and following up his advantage, drove the revolutionists from all their positions on the right, forcing them to fall back on the centre.

Meanwhile, Calleja advanced with his division toward the bridge, supporting Flon's movement with the fire of his artillery, and sending him a re-enforcement of grenadiers. Surveying the enemy's position, he recognized the danger of attempting an assault in that direction, and wheeling farther toward the right, occupied, with a considerable portion of his command, supported by four pieces of artillery, a small eminence, from which he opened fire on the enemy's nearest battery. At the same time he pushed forward on the right of the stream a detachment of his cavalry, under Empáran, for the purpose of taking the enemy in rear, while Colonel Jalon was ordered to assault a battery of seven guns situated lower on the river.

While these movements were in progress, Flon, eager to carry off the honors of the day, exceeded his instructions, and without waiting until Calleja's operations were sufficiently developed, attacked with his division the main battery of the insurgents. Here the foe was concentrated in overwhelming

numbers, and twice his troops were repulsed; ammunition gave out, and the men, losing confidence, began to retreat in great disorder. Empáran's detachment also suffered defeat, the commander being severely wounded, and victory appeared to be in the hands of the revolutionists.

At this juncture, the coolness, promptitude, and military skill of Calleja alone saved the royalists from total rout. Ordering Jalon, who had captured the opposing battery, to cover Empáran's retreat, and rally his men, he at once sent a strong column to the aid of Flon's division, and crossing the bridge with the remainder of his forces, deployed them into line, and followed in support. The artillery, concentrated at one point, then opened within half musket-shot of the enemy's principal battery, and a general charge was ordered along the royalist line.

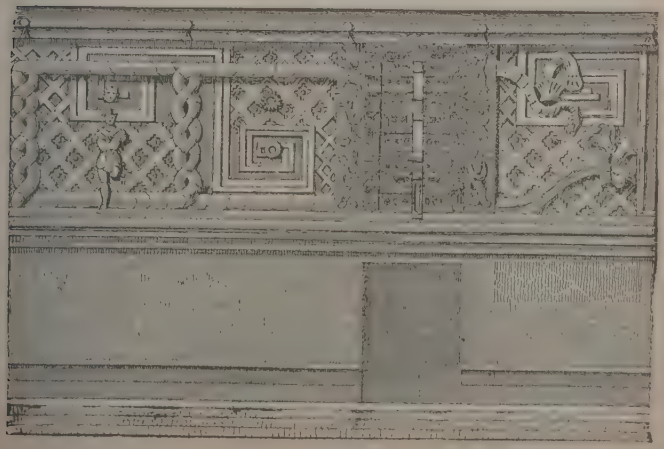
And now occurred an incident which at once decided the issue of the battle, and probably retarded for eleven tedious years the victorious career of the revolutionists. The ammunition-wagon of the insurgents was struck by a shell from the enemy's cannon, and a terrific explosion followed, which wrought havoc in their ranks. But this was the smallest part of the disaster. The ground was covered with a thick matting of dry grass, which instantly took fire, and the flames and smoke were blown full in the faces of Hidalgo's foremost battalions. Before the blast no living creature could stand. Some were choked to death; others were horribly burned, and instant flight became inevitable. Meanwhile, along the royalist line, the troops pressed forward, and with insignificant loss, cavalry, infantry, and artillery gained the height together. When the flames subsided the enemy was observed in full retreat, and their abandoned guns were found to be still loaded with grape-shot. A single battery on the insurgent's left still maintained its fire, and there the last stand was made by a remnant of the defeated army.

Then followed pursuit; and as the horsemen urged their steeds over the charred ground, foremost among them was

General Flon. Mortified at the failure caused by his own rashness, and determined not to survive the disgrace, he charged alone into the midst of the foe, and fell covered with wounds. At night his absence was noticed, and a party was sent in search of him; but it was not until the following day that his mangled corpse was discovered.

The losses on the side of the revolutionists cannot be ascertained; but that they were very severe may be inferred from the fact that more than 1,200 fell in the part of the field alone where Empáran's command was engaged. Of the royalists, 49 were killed, 134 wounded, and 10 were missing. The insurgent leaders fled by different routes to the city of Zacatecas, Rayon saving the treasure-chests, containing some $800,000, while most of their followers were dispersed after losing all their artillery and the greater portion of their baggage.

Thus for the time the strength of the revolution was broken; but the Cry of Dolores was still heard throughout the land, and the sacred image of liberty was now too deeply graven on the people's hearts ever again to be entirely eradicated.



CHAPTER XXXV.

CAPTURE AND DEATH OF HIDALGO.

THE reception accorded to Calleja, when, on the 21st of January, 1811, he entered Guadalajara, was similar to that with which Hidalgo had been greeted a few weeks before. With commendable versatility the inhabitants of this city could turn royalists or revolutionists as occasion demanded. And fortunate for them that it was so; else by this time there had been few of their number left. Yet here as elsewhere in Mexico there were many who adhered firmly to the cause, pledging themselves to support it with their lives and property, though aware that such a course was attended with imminent peril.

The action taken by the audiencia and the clergy, on the occasion of Hidalgo's entry, was not likely to win for them the favor of the viceroy; and now they hastened to send explanations of their conduct, mingled with assurances of fidelity. The oidores expressed unbounded joy at the recent victory, and the restitution of their functions, which had been interrupted during the occupation of the city by the "insurgent monster, Miguel Hidalgo"; while the ecclesiastical chapter deeply regretted that its members should have been exposed to the bitter humiliation of being prevented by the insurgent leader from giving utterance to their feelings of loyalty and fidelity. In reply, Venegas said that he hoped the time would come when the very high opinion which he had formed of all these functionaries would be fully justified.

Before reaching Zacatecas, Hidalgo was overtaken by others of the insurgent chieftains, and compelled to resign the chief command in favor of Allende. From the first, the two leaders had not been fully in accord, and had frequently disagreed as to the conduct of the war. On the eve of the battle at the bridge of Calderon, Allende had in vain urged the generalis-

simo to divide his unwieldy force into several divisions instead of risking the campaign on the issue of a single combat. Doubtless the former was a better soldier than the aged representative of the church militant; but Hidalgo, and he alone, could again rally the people around the standard of the revolutionists. His presence with the remnant of the army was therefore still deemed necessary; but after the surrender of his authority he was treated almost as a prisoner; his advice was ignored, his movements watched, and orders were given to slay him if he attempted to escape. For all this, Hidalgo cared less than for the cause. Personal fame had never been his object; and if those who now assumed control could better carry out the revolution alone, he was content. But from the sequel it appears that they could not; for destruction quickly overtook them.

From Zacatecas Allende decided to retreat on Saltillo, where, joining his forces with those of Jimenez, he would occupy a more secure position; but both points were threatened by the royalists, who captured the former city without difficulty, though repulsed by Jimenez before Saltillo. Soon afterward Calleja entered San Luis Potosí, the situation of the revolutionary leaders became each day more hopeless, the number of their followers being reduced to some 4,000 or 5,000 men, undisciplined, discouraged, and poorly armed and equipped. Nevertheless, they would not abandon the struggle. The northern provinces were still, as they believed, devoted to their cause; and they would proceed to the United States, and there purchase arms, and enlist the sympathies of that young and rising republic. Then they would return and again meet the enemy in the field, with equal weapons and superior numbers. Such were their dreams; but far different was the fate in store for them.

About this time Hidalgo received from General Cruz a copy of the pardon extended to the insurgents by the Spanish córtes, and was exhorted to accept their clemency, and thus avoid the further shedding of blood. But this offer he could

not for a moment entertain: first, because he had no faith in royalist promises; and second, because he would never for-

SCENE OF THE REVOLUTIONISTS' MOVEMENTS.

sake his sacred cause. Perhaps his death would better serve the interests of the revolution; if so, he would cheerfully die. What was life or death in comparison? He had soon to die

in any event; but the liberty he hoped to establish for his country, that would never die! He therefore kept the matter a secret, and to General Cruz he answered: "Pardon, your excellency, is for criminals, and not for defenders of their country."

In San Luis Potosí and Nuevo Santander, the revolution was for the moment ended by the defeat and execution of the lay-friar Herrera, and others of the insurgent chieftains. Meanwhile in Texas and Coahuila, events were occurring which boded ill for the cause of freedom. At the beginning of February 1811, Aldama had been appointed by the revolutionary leaders minister plenipotentiary to the United States. Taking with him a large sum of money for the purchase of arms, and for procuring there, as is related, the services of 30,000 auxiliaries, he reached the town of Béjar, within the modern state of Texas, where a counter-revolution was secretly in progress, headed by the deacon Zambrano. The deacon and his confederates began to cast suspicion on Aldama and his motives, representing him to be an emissary of Napoleon, and pointing to his uniform, which resembled those of French officers. If he brought with him so large a body of volunteers, would they not seize the opportunity of gaining possession of a province already regarded with covetous eyes throughout the American republic? Finally, when on the 1st of March Aldama was prepared to set forth, he was detained with his escort, under the pretence that their passports were not in order. A new government was then formed, with Zambrano as president; troops were organized; the partisans of the revolutionists deposed from office, and Aldama was afterward conveyed to Monclova, in northern Coahuila, where he was executed by sentence of court-martial.

At Saltillo, where Allende and Jimenez were still encamped, these incidents were unknown. Among their officers at Monclova was a lieutenant-colonel named Ignacio Elizondo, who, being refused promotion, had become secretly disaffected, and

now cast about him for means of revenge. After gaining control at Béjar, Zambrano sent to Calleja and the viceroy two commissioners, who, on reaching Monclova, revealed to the lieutenant-colonel Allende's designs, probably disclosed by Aldama's confederates. Thereupon Elizondo determined to surprise the revolutionary leaders on their way toward the United States. Ascertaining that they would arrive at Bajan on the morning of the 21st, he set forth with a guard of honor to bid them welcome, as he had written to Jimenez. The utmost precaution was taken lest Allende should be informed of what had occurred at Monclova, and remarkable as it may appear, the insurgent captain had not the slightest suspicion of the trap that was being laid for him. Before starting on their journey, a council was held to determine who should take charge during the absence of the principal chieftains, and the choice fell on Ignacio Lopez Rayon, with the licentiate Arrieta as second in command.

All was now in readiness for their departure from Saltillo. The road lay through a rugged desert, in which water could be obtained only in small quantities and at long intervals. At the wells near Bajan, men and animals would stop to drink, and there Elizondo, with 240 picked soldiers, awaited the arrival of the revolutionists. The ground was favorable for his design, and two parties, each of 50 men, were placed in ambush. On the morning of the 21st Allende appeared in sight. Accompanied by all the principal leaders, he had left Saltillo with a force of nearly 2,000 troops, 24 pieces of artillery, and more than half a million of money. The march across the desert had been most toilsome, and no military order was preserved, the carriages and horsemen approaching in scattering groups far in advance of the main body, while the artillery was slowly dragged along in the rear. This seeming carelessness was due to a suggestion made by the colonel, who said that, on account of the scarcity of water, it would be better for the carriages and the leading officers to proceed well in advance. If all journeyed together, the wells

would be quickly exhausted, while with this arrangement they could be replenished as rapidly as might be needed.

The first one to approach was Friar Pedro Bustamante, accompanied by five soldiers. Passing between files of men drawn up as a guard of honor, he was respectfully saluted, and without the least suspicion, continued on his way until he suddenly found himself in the midst of an ambush and was compelled to surrender. Then followed a troop of sixty men, who were also made captives and securely bound. Presently the carriages arrived, and one after another fell into Elizondo's hands almost without resistance. Allende, however, did not yield until his son was shot dead by his side; Arias, one of the insurgent leaders who occupied the same vehicle, being mortally wounded. Last of all the chieftains came Hidalgo, who might still have escaped if he had received the least intimation of the colonel's treachery. But even the sound of firing created no alarm. When called upon to surrender, he prepared to defend himself, pistol in hand; but his escort intervening, and refusing to support him, he threw aside his weapon. Thus at one fell stroke all the revolutionary leaders became victims to the perfidy of a traitor; and never was plot more cunningly planned or more successfully accomplished.

Leaving his prisoners in charge of a slender escort, Elizondo marched with only 150 men against the main body of the insurgents, some 1,500 strong, and still about a league distant. The combat was of the briefest; for in less than an hour forty of the revolutionists were slain, 893 were captured, many joined the ranks of the enemy, and the remainder were dispersed, leaving all their cannon, equipage, and treasure in the hands of the assailants.

Five days later the principal captives, among whom were Hidalgo, Allende, and Jimenez, were sent for trial to the city of Chihuahua. Bound hand and foot, mounted on mules, and escorted by a strong guard, they travelled painfully over 200 leagues of difficult road, and not even at night were their

fetters removed. The day on which they reached their destination was proclaimed a public holiday, and permission was given to the inhabitants to witness the humiliation of the prisoners, though all expressions of hate or sympathy were forbidden. After undergoing this ordeal, they were lodged in prison, the three principal leaders being placed in a deserted college of the jesuits.

On the 6th of May a military court was organized, consisting of a president, auditor, secretary, and four voting members. The prosecution rested entirely on the statements of the prisoners, special judges being appointed to take their depositions, on which the tribunal pronounced its verdict and sentence. The trials were conducted with all possible despatch, and within a few days several of the captives were led forth to execution. Allende suffered on the 26th of May in company with Jimenez and two others, all of them being shot as traitors, with their backs to the firing platoons.

The execution of Hidalgo was delayed by ecclesiastical formalities; for before sentence could either be pronounced or carried into effect, civil and canonical law required that the prisoner should be degraded from his priestly office, and formally handed over by the ecclesiastical judge to the secular authorities. When conducted into the presence of the former, his fetters being for the first time removed, he was arrayed in the sacred vestments of his order, and on his knees listened to the cause of his degradation, and to his death sentence. He was then stripped of his robes and delivered to the guard, an earnest but vain appeal being made for a mitigation of his punishment. Then his fetters were replaced, and he was conducted to his cell.

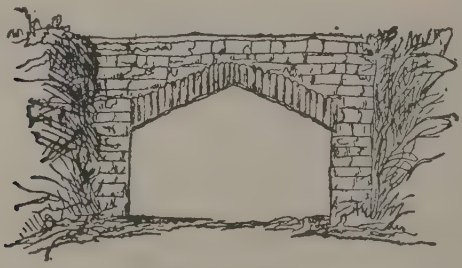
While at breakfast, before daybreak, on the 31st of July, Hidalgo received with his usual tranquillity the officers appointed to conduct him to the place of execution. Finishing his repast, he arose and calmly remarked in a low voice that he was prepared to accompany them. The spot selected was an enclosed court adjoining the hospital, and as he stepped

slowly forward, encumbered by chains, his fortitude and serenity never for a moment deserted him. Remembering that he had left some sweet-meats under his pillow, he requested that they might be brought to him, and distributed them among the firing platoons, at the same time assuring them of his forgiveness. It was yet early dawn, and in order to guide their aim he placed his hand upon his heart, bidding them fire at this mark. The signal was then given; but though one of the bullets pierced his hand, it failed to reach his heart, and Hidalgo remained erect in his seat uttering words of prayer. At the second volley, as though in premonition of his soul's release, the cords which bound him to the chair of execution were severed, and he fell to the ground; but not until three more shots were fired from muskets held close to his breast did life become extinct.

The heads of Hidalgo, Allende, Aldama, and Jimenez were sent to Guanajuato, and suspended in iron cages at the four corners of the alhóndiga, their bodies being interred in a Franciscan chapel at Chihuahua. There they remained until 1823, when they were transferred to the cathedral of Mexico, and deposited with befitting ceremonies amid the tombs of the viceroys, — the future burial-place of the presidents of the republic.

Rebellion is justified only by success, in which event it is not rebellion, but revolution. But though unsuccessful as it would seem upon the surface, Hidalgo's fame will never die. His failure was due in part to misfortune, but more to the fact that he was not by training a soldier, or even a man of the world. By his admirers, Hidalgo has been termed an angel of light; by his enemies, a bloodthirsty rebel whose sole delight was in revenge and cruelty. But this question is now seldom raised. He permitted some excesses, — it was the age of excesses; his enemies did the same. But for all that, and much more, he was a great and good man, calm and firm in the right, exalted in all his ideas and purposes, unselfish,

seeking not his own but his country's good. We must look far among the patriots of the world to find a purer or a better man. His cause was just and his impulses were noble; nor is it necessary to say that he who strives, even in vain, to deliver his country from oppression, and cheerfully lays down his life in so doing, is entitled to the same praise as if his efforts had been crowned with success. Almost without knowing it, and surely before he intended it, the curate of Dolores found himself at the head of a people crying to heaven for liberty, and swearing before heaven that their homes and altars should be free. For many years the Grito de Dolores resounded throughout the land, and long before the imprints of viceregal domination had been effaced by the healing touch of time, the name of Miguel Hidalgo was enrolled among the world's champions of liberty.



BRIDGE AT HUEJUTLA.

CHAPTER XXXVI.

MORELOS AND HIS CAMPAIGNS.

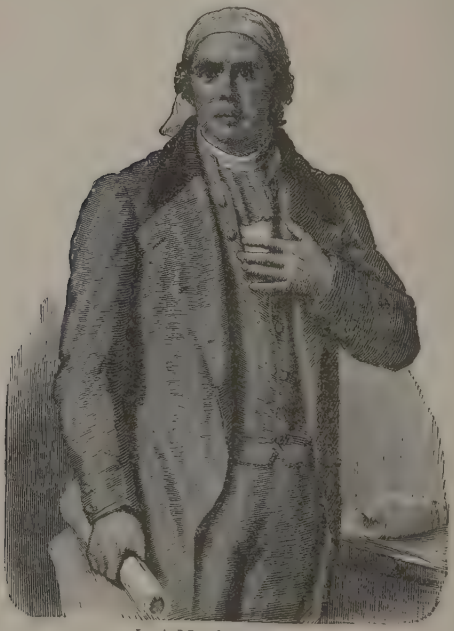
Thus somewhat minutely have we followed the career of Hidalgo, and the early struggles of the revolutionists. Of the strife which continued during the long years preceding the triumph of their cause, it will suffice to relate briefly the leading incidents.

With the execution of the principal leaders, it was thought that the revolution had come to an end; and so it might have been had the movement originated with a single man, or with a single clique, or had it depended for success on anything but the resistless power of progress. The cause of freedom had long been predetermined, and though myriads should be butchered, other myriads would take their places, until the dragon of oppression were slain.

At this juncture, there remained only one man who stood forth prominently among the revolutionists as an admitted chieftain, a leader around whom they could rally with some degree of confidence. This man was also a priest, and a friend and disciple of Hidalgo. His name was José María Morelos y Pavon. After receiving a limited education, he began life as a muleteer in the service of his uncle, being compelled, by the death of his father, to earn his bread. His ambition had ever been to enter the profession of the church. By great effort and self-denial he succeeded in gaining admission as a sizar, or servitor, in the college of San Nicolás. Here he studied natural and moral philosophy, under the guidance of Hidalgo, who was then the rector, and for whom he ever afterward entertained the warmest regard and veneration.

When first the Cry of Dolores was raised, Morelos was about forty-five years of age. He was a man of powerful physique, and of considerable brain-power; not above medium

height, and capable of great endurance. Of dun complexion, and with dark, brilliant eyes, his glance was quick, searching, and magnetic, though often stern and meditative, and again lapsing into profound reverie. Yet he was no dreamer, being



José María Morelos.

far more a man of the world than Hidalgo, though in point of learning he might almost be termed illiterate, when compared with the sage of Dolores. Nevertheless, he had sufficient education for the development of his genius, which must be regarded as among the brightest of his age.

Morelos was a man of such astonishing energy that the very

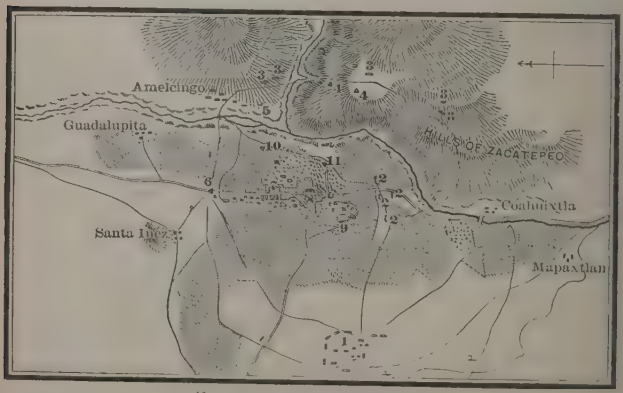
atmosphere which surrounded him seemed to vibrate with latent force emanating from his presence. His eyebrows were heavy and met together, giving to his countenance the expression of a resolute and quick-tempered man. Around the mouth and lower jaw the character lines were deeply traced, and remarkable among his features was the well-rounded chin, resembling somewhat that of Julius Cæsar on a Roman medal. In battle his eyes flashed with a sinister light, and his deep angry voice pealed forth like the roar of thunder. Of danger he thought no more than of repeating his prayers in a cloister; and notwithstanding these traits of character, in the ordinary affairs of life his manner and countenance were impassive and serene, and he never betrayed the inner workings of his mind.

By his originality and soundness of judgment, he won the admiration and esteem of his followers; and his combinations, both as a military commander and a political leader, have seldom been surpassed. He knew, moreover, how to select his officers and his agents, and he fully recognized the importance of giving attention to details. A rigid Catholic, he always made confession on the eve of battle; and such were his religious scruples, that after his first engagement with the enemy he never in person celebrated mass. But conspicious among all his qualities was his perfect disinterestedness, no personal motive guiding him in his valiant struggle for liberty; and to the distinctions and decorations earned by his victories he was quite indifferent, preferring to all others the title of Servant of the Nation.

Bidding adieu to Hidalgo, as it chanced forever, after his capture of Guanajuato, he raised and armed a band of 25 followers, and set forth for the port of Zacatula, where he was joined by a militia captain with fifty others. From this small beginning arose momentous results, and Morelos was soon in command of a considerable force. On the 11th of January, 1811, his lieutenant, Miguel de Ávila, with 600 men, defeated with trifling loss nearly 1,000 of the royalists, capturing six pieces of cannon and a large quantity of stores and ammuni-

tion. After several victories gained by Morelos, Rayon, Torres, and other revolutionary leaders, though with some reverses, at the close of the year we find the rebellion still widely spread, and despite his utmost efforts the viceroy was unable to arrest its progress. Moreover, the cause was steadily gaining ground in the capital and other large cities in the possession of the Spaniards.

About the middle of November, Morelos entered upon his second campaign, and in February 1812 was stationed with 5,550 men, of whom the greater portion were cavalry, in the city which now bears his name, but was then called Cuautla,



CUAUTLA AND ITS VICINITY.

distant only some twenty leagues from the capital. Here he resolved to make a stand against Calleja, who was approaching with a strong force from the direction of Chalco, and was afterward joined by 2,500 men under the command of General Llano.

At this date Cuautla was an unfortified town, situated on a rising ground amid a level plain, its main street connecting the plazas of the convents of San Diego and Santo Domingo.

At the northern extremity was the chapel of the Calvario; toward the east rose the hills of Zacatepec, between them being a river with banks 200 varas apart, but with a bed only 12 or 15 varas in width. Morelos fortified the two convents with their plazas, surrounding them with ramparts. Deep trenches were also cut across the streets, batteries placed in suitable positions, and the doors and lower windows of the houses on the line of defence walled up, their partitions being broken through in order to establish a line of communication.

At daylight on the 19th of February, the royalists advanced in four columns to the assault, directed mainly against the intrenchments at the plaza of San Diego. When the foremost division approached the parapets, so deadly a fire was opened on them that they were forced to retreat; but elsewhere the enemy fought their way close up to the ramparts, causing some confusion among the ranks of the revolutionists. Confidence was soon restored, however, and the enemy was repulsed, though returning again and again to the charge. At the final effort, Calleja led the attack in person; but his troops, though accustomed to victory, quailed before the incessant and well-directed volleys of the defenders. For the first time in his career, the Spanish general was defeated, and after holding a council of war, decided to lay regular siege to the town, sending to the capital for heavy artillery, mortars, and munitions of war.

On the 10th of March the bombardment began, and for four days the iron shower fell upon the city. But though shot and shell tore through houses and parapets, the spirit of the defenders remained unbroken. The breaches made by day were repaired at night, and each morning the attack must commence anew. As the water supply had been cut off, wells were sunk, and all privations were borne with such cheerful fortitude that Calleja at length began to recognize the difficulty of his task. Finding that he could make little impression on the fortifications, even with the cannon sent to him from Mexico, he resolved to turn the siege into a blockade.

Week after week passed by, and at last hunger, a foe more terrible than sword or musket, began to assail the revolutionists. Still the inhabitants bore their sufferings without a murmur, and with every manifestation of unyielding purpose. On returning from their frequent sallies, the soldiers were greeted with deafening cheers; those who fell were buried to the solemn sound of bells, and death was declared the penalty of him who should talk of surrender. Even Calleja could not repress his admiration for such high-souled fortitude. "These people are heroes," he writes to the viceroy, "and if their cause were just, they would merit a worthy record in the page of history."

Meanwhile, the situation of the royalists was by no means an enviable one. Transferred from the temperate regions of the table-land, they suffered severely from their incessant toil beneath the fervid skies of the tierra caliente. Sickness was upon them, and toward the end of April 800 were in hospital. The rainy season was near, when fever would strike them down by scores, and the enemy, inured to this deadly climate, would fall on them and complete their ruin. Thus it was merely a question between time and nature which side should win. But on this occasion nature declared for the cause of oppression. The rains were unusually late, and as day after day the fiery sun arose and set, no cloud appeared to the wistful eyes of the thirsty and famished crowds within the beleaguered city. Their sufferings were appalling, and such was the scarcity, that lizards, rats, and vermin were the only remaining food. A few head of cattle straying in between the Spanish camp and the town were almost sufficient to bring on a general engagement. When all else was consumed, decayed and weather-beaten hides were stripped from doors to which they had been nailed for years, and after being soaked and scraped, were swallowed in fragments with gulps of water, while foul grubs and crawling insects were eagerly devoured. Pestilence, the companion of famine, followed in her footsteps. The church of San Diego was converted into a hospital, where

twenty or thirty perished daily; gaunt spectral figures moved wearily along the streets, and no longer did children, as heretofore, marshal their bands in mimic warfare. Still Morelos yielded not, and still Calleja dared not risk another assault.

In vain did the revolutionists attempt to break through the enemy's lines to obtain provisions, for on the open plain the latter were vastly superior. On the 27th of April a desperate effort was made, but without success, and now no hope remained but to force their way out of the town. On the 1st of May, Calleja sent to the besieged a copy of a general pardon, proclaimed by the viceroy for all who consented to lay down their arms. This offer of mercy was received with apparent joy, and at once hostilities ceased. It was but a ruse, however, for Morelos had already determined to cut his way out, — or at least he would make the attempt. His influence over his followers was supreme; wherever he went, or whatever his fate, they were ready to accompany him, and if need be to die with him. That night the troops were assembled in the plaza of San Diego, and at two o'clock on the morning of the 2d were marched in silence out of the city, the lights being left burning on the ramparts.

The van consisted of about 1,000 infantry, armed with muskets, and supported by 250 cavalry; then came a large number of troops whose weapons were slings and lances, followed by a miscellaneous crowd of both sexes and of all ages. The rear guard was composed of a second body of infantry, with the baggage and two field-pieces in its centre. So skilfully were the arrangements made that Calleja, with all his vigilance, was deceived, and for more than two hours afterward did not know what Morelos was doing. Directing its course toward the river, so noiselessly did the column move that, unperceived, it approached the earthworks of the royalists, drove back the guard, and demolishing the intrenchments, advanced toward the river, which was crossed on hurdles provided for the purpose.

But now the enemy was upon them, and assailed in flank

and rear, after 800 had fallen, the leader gave orders that his men should disperse. So rapidly was this accomplished that the royalist troops, advancing from opposite directions, fired upon each other before discovering their mistake. Morelos, after having two of his ribs crushed by a fall from his horse, fled by way of Zacatepec, and there the foe overtook him. His escort was cut down almost to a man, but the commander escaped and made his way to the town of Cuautla, where he at once began to collect his scattered troops and to prepare for a new campaign.

Among the crowd of civilians who set forth from Cuautla, the slaughter was hideous; men, women, and children being butchered without regard to age, sex, or condition, and their corpses strewn for leagues along the road. Of the dire vengeance with which Calleja visited the defenceless people of this city no further details need be given. Let a veil be drawn over one of the most dastardly deeds of the revolutionary war, of which, even ten years afterward, royalist officers could not speak without a blush of shame.

Having destroyed the fortifications of Cuautla, the royalist commander returned to the capital, with his military reputation impaired and his troops in miserable plight. There, notwithstanding his glowing reports, he became the laughing-stock of the populace, all of whom well knew that he had been outwitted. A few nights after his arrival a comedy was acted, in which was introduced a soldier, who, on his return from battle, presented his general with a head-dress, exclaiming pompously: "Here is the turban of a Moor whom I took prisoner."—"And the Moor himself?" —"O, unfortunately he escaped!" The allusion was readily understood, and the passage received with roars of laughter.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

FURTHER PROGRESS OF THE WAR.

During the year 1812 military operations resulted more favorably for the royalist arms in the interior than in the eastern and southern provinces, since in the former the revolutionist forces were divided into numerous bands, which seldom acted in concert, and while obstructing the public highways, interrupting traffic, and living by plunder, rarely attempted the capture of fortified towns, or confronted the foe in the open field. Toward the end of May, Orizaba was captured by the insurgents, but retaken a few days later by Llano's command; and in several minor engagements their forces were defeated, though elsewhere in the province of Vera Cruz, and also in Puebla, they were more successful. In Oajaca, Trujano, besieged at Huajuapan by 1,000 of the enemy well supplied with artillery and ammunition, was relieved by Morelos, after a protracted defence. The royalists here suffered defeat, with the loss of half their men and all their cannon and baggage.

With 3,600 troops, including the garrison of Huajuapan, Morelos then marched on Tehuacan, where, on the 10th of August, he established his headquarters, and whence he could send forth expeditions against Oajaca, Orizaba, and Vera Cruz, without losing sight of Mexico. From this point also, being well supplied with provisions and ammunition, he could best support his cause in those provinces which had repeatedly shown a disposition to throw off the Spanish yoke. Moreover, in the event of a large force being sent against him, a road lay open to the interior.

The comandante of Oajaca, fearing that Morelos' objective point would be the capital of that province, appealed to the viceroy for re-enforcements. But Venegas had all that he

could attend to attend to at home; meanwhile Puebla, Orizaba, and the road to Vera Cruz were also threatened, and it was in the power of the insurgents to intercept the trains laden

CAMPAIGNS IN PUEBLA AND VERA CRUZ.

with tobacco and other merchandise, then the only means of raising money.

It was indeed a time of tribulation for the viceroy. Morelos' daring and energetic efforts were again being partially crowned with success, and there were no funds wherewith to pay the royalist troops or keep them together. The revenue from custom dues was inconsiderable; the treasures of private individuals had been wellnigh exhausted; the church had contributed largely of its substance, and other sources of in-

come were entirely insufficient. Venegas must have money; not in driblets, but in large amounts, and at once. He therefore called a meeting of officials and merchants, and as all other means were rejected, — among them being propositions to reduce the salaries of the former, and to levy a tax on staple commodities, — he was compelled to resort to the old expedient of a forced loan. Here was further ground for dissatisfaction; and to counteract the ill feeling, several measures were passed, one of them allowing to persons of African descent admission into the universities and religious organizations, and another, substituting the garrote for hanging, the latter being a "spectacle repugnant to humanity and to the generous character of the Spanish nation,"—a refreshing sentiment truly, in these days of wholesale slaughter and spoliation

Thus the cause of the royalists was not improving in Mexico. True, the revolution now possessed only one powerful leader, and only one small army; but in scattered troops they overran almost the entire country. The highways of commerce were infested with guerillas, and in every district some chieftain had become notorious. If the forces of the revolutionists had been united, the reverses which they had already sustained might have ended the rebellion; but as matters now stood, royalist victories served only to multiply insurgent bands, and to extend the seat of war over a yet broader area.

Leaving Tehuacan on the 13th of October, on the 29th Morelos captured Orizaba with but slight resistance, and toward the end of November we find him encamped before Oajaca with 5,000 men and 40 pieces of artillery. The garrison consisted of about 2,000 royalists, and the place was protected by several batteries, and well supplied with ammunition.

After demanding the surrender of the city within three hours, and receiving no answer, Morelos made his dispositions for the attack. Separating his forces into six divisions, he placed one of them in charge of Ramon Sesma, with orders to carry the fortifications in the convent of La Soledad, which

commanded the town; while a second, under Matamoros and Galeana, forced an entrance by way of the suburb of Marquesado. Of the remaining divisions, two cut off the retreat

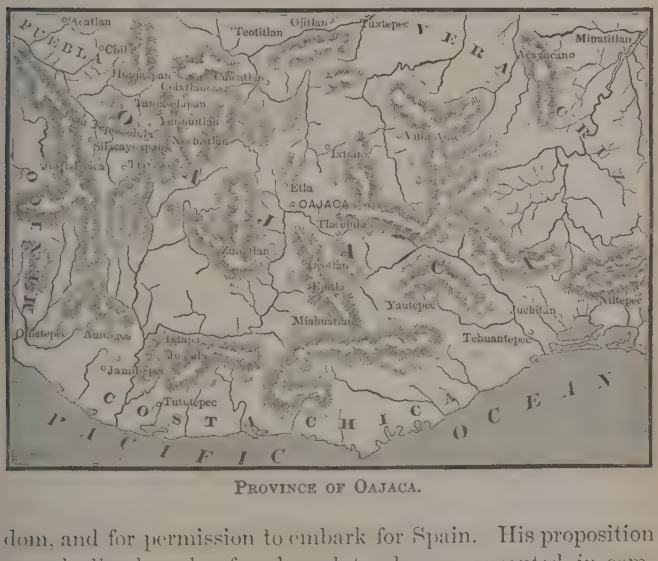
PLAN OF OAJACA.

1. Cathedral.
2. Santo Domingo Convent.
3. Palace.
4. Plaza.
5. El Instituto College.
6. Mint.
7. Town Hall.
8. Monte Alban Ruins.

of the garrison by the road to Guatemala, one guarded the baggage and protected the rear, and one was held in reserve.

The attack succeeded at every point, and in two hours the

city was in possession of the revolutionists. Then followed the pillage of the houses and shops of the Spaniards, an order being issued for the surrender of all effects that had been concealed. Five hundred prisoners were captured, and among them was a lieutenant-general who had attempted to escape in disguise by the Guatemala road. On being conducted to the building set apart for ordinary criminals, he begged Morelos to treat him as befitted his rank, offering $40,000 for his free-



PROVINCE OF OAJACA.

dom, and for permission to embark for Spain. His proposition was declined, and a few days later he was executed in company with the notorious royalist Régules Villasante, at the spot where, early in the revolution, two of Hidalgo's messengers had been put to death. Four others suffered capital punishment, and the lives of the remainder were spared; but notwithstanding this and other acts of forbearance, Morelos, like Hidalgo, has been charged with cruelty. It must be remembered, however, that this was a war in which quarter was sel-

dom given; and with far greater strictness than the insurgents did the royalists award the penalty of death to all revolutionary leaders who fell into their hands. If the situation at Oajaca had been reversed, we may be assured that Morelos and his leading officers would have speedily met with the fate which overtook Hidalgo, Allende, and Jimenez.

With a view to making himself master of all the rich province of Oajaca, and of the portion of Puebla bordering on it, Morelos now resolved to destroy a number of small royalist garrisons, whose centre was the town of Jamiltepec. This accomplished, he soon afterward resolved to lay siege to the seaport of Acapulco, where alone, in southern Mexico, there remained any considerable force of royalists. All these advantages had been gained by his foresight in making Tehuacan the base of operations, and also through the blunders of the viceroy and his generals, in leaving uncovered many points of defence.

We must return once more to the capital, where in February 1813 Calleja, after resigning his command and living for a time in retirement, was appointed viceroy of Mexico. This change was due in part to the representations made to the government by the merchants of Cádiz, who ascribed the progress of the rebellion mainly to the inefficient measures of Venegas. Moreover, the latter had now become extremely unpopular among all classes of the people. The insurgents of course hated him because he had prevented the consummation of their designs; the clergy disliked him because he had curtailed their privileges; and the royalists found fault with him for his lenience toward the rebels, to which, together with the absence of a well-conceived plan of military operations, they attributed the recent advantages gained by the revolutionists.

The news of Calleja's promotion was not received in the capital with feelings of unmixed delight. Nevertheless, he was acknowledged as the foremost soldier in Mexico, and his appointment did not fail to inspire the army with confidence and

the insurgents with misgiving, though, among the people at large, he was regarded at best with indifference.

Among his first acts was a proclamation, wherein he stated that in order to levy troops and lead them to battle, he must be supplied with funds, and expressed the hope that a little temporary sacrifice on the part of his subjects would secure the restoration of peace and prosperity. This appeal for money caused no little apprehension, for Calleja was known to be as unscrupulous in levying contributions as he was lavish of expense. There was now a debt of more than $30,000,000, and a monthly deficit of some $260,000, the best sources of revenue being already hypothecated for the repayment of temporary loans. The first measure, declared the viceroy, must be to liberate commerce, mining, and other industries from the control of the rebels; and as the merchants would receive the principal benefit, he appealed to them for a loan of $1,500,000. Although the demand was not fully complied with, the response was sufficiently prompt to reveal the confidence reposed in Calleja, together with the wholesome fear evoked by his discouraging revelation as to the actual condition of affairs.

In truth, the royalists were under a cloud. "The government," writes Calleja, "could barely claim anything else than the capitals of the provinces, and even of these, Oajaca, perhaps the richest, was absolutely lost." At this date Morelos controlled all the southern portions of Vera Cruz and Puebla, together with the present states of Oajaca and Guerrero, with the exception of Acapulco, which was even then about to fall. North of Jalapa, Vera Cruz was overrun by insurgent bands, whose strongholds lay within the Sierra Madre, extending thence to the gulf of Mexico and the southern line of Tamaulipas. Prominent among their leaders was Villagran, who had assumed the pompous title of Julian I., emperor of Huasteca. Farther inland, his son Chito occupied the districts centring in Huichapan, while in northern Puebla, Osorno controlled the regions south and east as far as the shores of

the gulf, with his headquarters at Zacatlan, where were several large establishments for the manufacture of arms and ammunition. From his retreat at Tlalpujahua, Ignacio Rayon commanded the region between Zitácuaro and Toluca, and thence northward, while his brother Ramon obstructed traffic

DISTRICTS OCCUPIED BY THE REVOLUTIONISTS.

Extent of the revolution in New Spain in the spring of 1813, the dark shading indicates the territory absolutely under control of the insurgents; the lighter shading the ground overrun or raided by them, but where royalists held the chief towns.

on the high road to Querétaro, and others spread alarm in the valley of Mexico, threatening even the capital. The coast districts of Michoacan also adhered to Rayon, while in Guanajuato most of the larger towns had declared for the revolutionists.

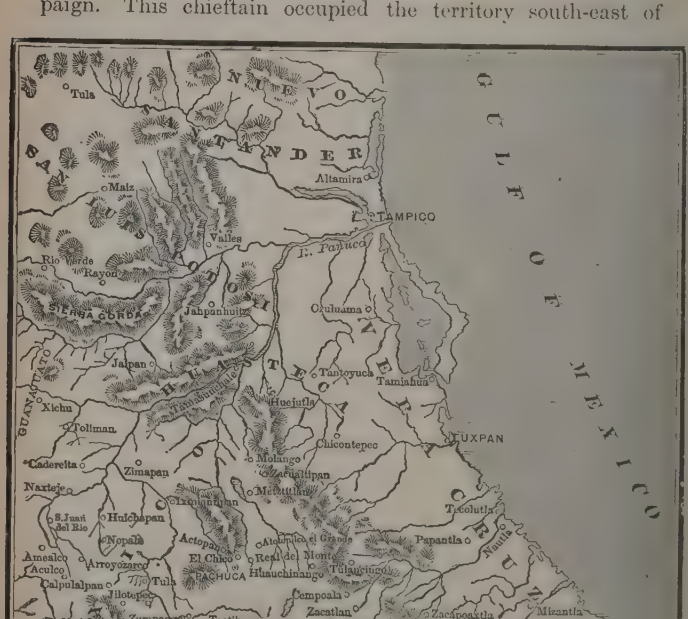
Thus matters stood in the spring of 1813, the remoteness of

Rayon's command from the capital and the approach of the rainy season preventing all military operations, other than were needed for the release of the central provinces from the insurgent bands which obstructed communication with the mines, cut off supplies, and intercepted the government trains laden with merchandise and treasure. At Salvatierra, Rayon was defeated by Iturbide, who for this exploit was promoted to the rank of colonel, and appointed comandante of Guanajuato. At Puruandiro the insurgent leaders Liceaga and Verdusco also suffered defeat, the latter escaping on an unsaddled horse, with the loss of his uniform and baton. The fortress of Cerro del Gallo, defended by Ramon Rayon, was captured by the royalist general Castillo. At Zimapan, in the centre of a rich silver region, the elder Villagran still held out, disposing of the persons and property of the inhabitants very much as he pleased, and founding cannon and coining money wherewith to make further conquests.

The task of humbling this pretender was intrusted to Colonel Ordoñez, with Pedro Monsalve second in command. On the 3d of May, Monsalve presented himself before Huichapan, where Chito Villagran rejected all overtures of peace, confident that he could hold the place until re-enforcements should arrive. Defeated with heavy loss, he was captured, while heading his followers in panic flight. Though pardon was offered both to father and son in case of submission, Villagran the elder would not consent to such humiliation. "Die with dignity," was his message to Chito; whereupon the latter was shot in front of his palace, and his head impaled on the walls of the town.

After due preparation, the royalists set forth toward Zimapan under command of Ordoñez, and found the place evacuated, for Villagran had retired to a neighboring height, on which were mounted 30 pieces of artillery. At the approach of the royalists, however, the insurgents fled, almost without resistance, and soon afterward the self-styled emperor was captured and shot, his head being impaled on the walls of Huichapan, close to that of his son.

The main reliance of the insurgents in this quarter was now on Osorno, against whom Calleja directed his opening campaign. This chieftain occupied the territory south-east of



CAMPAIGN IN THE EAST.

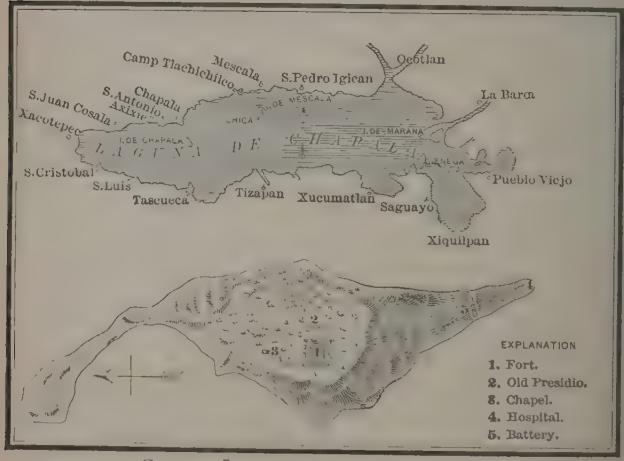
Zimapan and Huichapan, and was recognized as leader by a number of scattered revolutionary bands. Though held in great esteem by his followers, he was wanting in power of organization, and was little acquainted with military tactics.

In January 1813 a detachment was ordered to march on Zacatlan in the hope of surprising the town, which was ill prepared for defence; but an intercepted despatch gave warning to the revolutionists, and they resolved to anticipate the movement. Appearing before the enemy's camp, they were attacked by the royalists, and fell back as if in retreat; but no sooner had the pursuing cavalry been separated from the main body than they turned upon them and put them to rout. With a little exertion on the part of Osorno the infantry might have been captured or cut to pieces; but he was satisfied with his victory, and allowed the foe to escape.

In April the insurgents took the offensive, advancing against the town of Zacapoaxtla, about 2,000 strong. Here at first some advantage was gained; but the death of a favorite officer wrought confusion in their ranks, and their opponents, seizing the opportunity, routed them with the loss of their siege artillery. Thereupon Osorno retreated to Zacatlan, but abandoning that stronghold, and retreating to a safe distance on the approach of the royalists, resumed his raids southward and into the valley of Mexico, as soon as the town was evacuated. Resolved to take vengeance on the rebels, Calleja ordered a considerable force to reoccupy Zacatlan. This was accomplished almost without a struggle, and the fortifications destroyed, Osorno being attacked a few days later in a strong position at Las Mesas, but without decisive result. After holding his ground for several hours, he retreated in good order toward Tlasco, and thence to Apam, where he still remained master of the situation, and where for the present we will leave him.

In Nueva Galicia, the only event of the campaign worthy of note is the siege of the Mescala rock, a few miles from the northern shore of Lake Chapala. There a number of Indians, aroused by the continued exactions of General Cruz, had taken refuge under the revolutionary banner; and feeling secure in their retreat, they made raids on the neighboring settlements, keeping them in constant alarm. The attack was made in

June by the royalist leader Negrete, at the head of 500 men, a number of large boats being lashed together to bear the weight of the cannon. But the unwieldy vessels of the assailants presented an easy target to the Indians, who showered missiles on them from the rock and from their light, swift



CHAPALA LAKE AND THE MESCALA ROCK.

canoes, forcing them to retreat with the loss of two boat-loads of artillery and ammunition. The operations of the royalists were then restricted to a defence of the shore line and a partial blockade of the enemy's stronghold.

While these affairs were in progress, Morelos had already laid siege to Acapulo. In April 1813 he encamped before the city with 1,500 men, leaving a garrison of 1,000 in Oajaca, and stationing a force of 1,500 at Yanhuitlan to hold possession of the surrounding district. The place was captured with little difficulty, though defended by strong batteries, and by the vessels of war within the harbor, while the besiegers had but

few cannon, and those of light calibre. With the garrison were surrendered 80 pieces of artillery, and a considerable quantity of small arms, ammunition, and provisions. Yet from this success, brilliant though it was, may be traced the beginning of Morelos' downfall. The time needed for the operations against Acapulco had allowed Calleja seven months for his own operations, enabling him to carry out his plans with little opposition,—to destroy the most dreaded of the revolutionary chieftains in the north, and then to turn his entire force against those in the southern provinces. The capture of a single seaport was no compensation for these disasters. In truth, Morelos was at this juncture somewhat overconfident, believing that he would soon make himself master of the capital, when the fall of Vera Cruz and other royalist cities would speedily follow.

At this date, the discord in the governing council, or as it was termed supreme junta of the revolutionists, materially aided the plans of Calleja, though also of service to Morelos, who, flushed with success, began to aspire to the political leadership of his party. While one member of the council sought to disqualify another, all of them, discouraged by their reverses, appealed for support to Morelos, who had hitherto been practically ignored. The latter saw his opportunity, and resolved to direct the current of events so as to further his own designs. To this end, he proposed that the members should meet at some rendezvous within the territory controlled by himself, where, unmolested, they might discuss and determine the questions in dispute. The time selected was September 1813, and the place the town of Chilpancingo, in the modern state of Guerrero.

As the result of this measure, the supreme junta was replaced by a representative congress, before which Morelos delivered the opening speech. Its first act was to confirm his appointment as generalissimo, already sanctioned by the army with tumultuous acclaim, this office including in its functions the executive power and remaining in the hands of its pos-

sessor so long as he displayed fitness for his duties. The judicial authority was vested for the moment in existing tribunals, at the head of which was the congress itself; but at an early day a meeting of advocates was to be called for the purpose of electing judges for a supreme court.

The regulations issued by Morelos for the guidance of the congress formed practically a constitution, wherein he had framed everything to suit his own designs, constituting himself actual ruler in all provinces where his arms had been victorious, and sustaining his control by making appointments at will. Although crude and incomplete, this constitution served the purposes of its projector, and its provisions

SEAL OF CONGRESS.

are not to be hastily condemned, when we consider that he far overshadowed all other leaders in military success. At least, it cannot be said that he abused the trusts which he had outlined, maintaining as he did, an assembly that could have been easily dissolved, under the plausible excuse that the cause of the revolution demanded the concentration of power in a single hand.

On the 2d of November Ignacio Rayon arrived at Chilpancingo, and Bustamante, Verdusco, Liceaga, Murguía, Herrera, and other leading revolutionists being present, the session was opened for regular business. Its first measure was the famous declaration of independence on November 6th, wherein Mexico

was forever declared free of Spanish control, with liberty to work out its own destinies, and with the Roman Catholic religion for its spiritual guidance. In vain did Rayon oppose this radical proposition as dangerous and unnecessary. Admitting that to retain even a nominal allegiance to the sovereign was a mere pretence, still he urged it was one which would gain a large and valuable support, especially among the Indians, who were accustomed to reverence and bend to royalty. His views were supported by Bustamante and others; but nevertheless Morelos carried his point, and the revolutionists declared themselves no longer subjects of the king of Spain.

In consonance with this proclamation of independence, the decrees already issued by Morelos were confirmed, whereby all distinctions of race or caste were merged in the one broad appellation of Americans; slavery was abolished; the collection of tribute was pronounced unlawful; and the offices of church and state were declared open to all classes. Debts due to Europeans were cancelled, in virtue of the authority of the nation to confiscate the property of its opponents, and taxes were restricted practically to those derived from excise and from tithes and parochial dues, to which Indians were subject in common with all others. Finally, it was proposed to enlist for the support of the revolutionary cause half the available population of every town, and to arm them with the best weapons that could be procured. Though some of these measures were not out of keeping, it will be observed that others savored very strongly of communistic tendencies.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

DOWNFALL AND DEATH OF MORELOS.

To regain possession of Valladolid had long been a favorite project of Morelos, not only on account of its wealth and central position, but also because of the revolutionary tendencies of the surrounding population. Emboldened by success on battle-field and in council-hall, he now proposed to remedy the mistakes and avenge the humiliation of his colleagues. Deliverance was to come from the south; and the first step was to recover the much disputed capital of Michoacan, there to install the new-born congress and affirm its dignity, while making this city the starting-point for the operations henceforth to be directed against the central provinces. Although the place was but slenderly fortified, aid could easily reach it, and the generalissimo now mustered all his forces, summoning from Vera Cruz and Puebla, Nicholás Bravo and Matamoros, whose well-disciplined troops formed the nucleus of his army, to which were added the guerilla bands of Michoacan, including those of Ramon Rayon.

Without disclosing his purpose, except to a few intimate friends, he set forth from Chilpancingo on the 7th of November, 1813, and on the 22d of December appeared before the gates of Valladolid with an army variously estimated at from 6,000 to 20,000 men, and with 30 pieces of artillery. The inhabitants were in despair; for the garrison mustered less than 800 strong, and Morelos at once presented the usual alternative of death or immediate surrender.

But Calleja had not been deceived by the manœuvres of the insurgent leader, and his plans had been so skilfully arranged as to allow of rapid counter-movements in any direction. More than 2,000 troops, designated as the Army of the North, had been concentrated at Acámbaro, under General Llano, with

Iturbide second in command. Ramon Rayon, attempting to check their advance, was defeated, and after a forced march, the royalists came into position on the morning of the 23d, guided by the sound of firing, which had already commenced. The assault was directed mainly against the Zapote gate, as the point most likely to be threatened by re-enforcements from Mexico, and which, after being captured by the insurgents, had been retaken by the royalists, who had finally been driven back into the city. At this moment Llano and Iturbide attacked the revolutionists in flank from different directions, whereupon the latter retreated to their camp, whence they were routed with considerable loss. Llano's forces then entered the city, amid the acclaim of the people, who, whatever their proclivities, were always, for the time, on the side of success.

This disaster was a severe blow to Morelos, who passed the greater part of the following day in deliberating what should next be done. At length he decided to place the command of his forces in the hands of Matamoros, who drew up the infantry in line in front of the city, posting the cavalry on the hill of Santa María, which commanded the encampment. To ascertain the meaning of this demonstration, Llano sent Iturbide with 360 horse to reconnoitre. The latter had not failed to observe the defects in their position, and could not resist the temptation to display, in sight of his native city, the prowess for which he had already become famous. Placing himself at the head of his command, he broke through the enemy's line, routed a body of cavalry sent to its support, and then, warming to his work, charged up the hill in the very face of the enemy's most powerful battery. Bewildered at this unexpected onset, their ranks broke in all directions, and panic fell upon the army. It was already dusk, and amid the gathering gloom, friend could not be distinguished from foe, some of the battalions firing upon each other with disastrous result.

Meanwhile Iturbide had taken advantage of the confusion to force his way into the enemy's camp, and Morelos himself

narrowly escaped death or capture. On seeing their commander surrounded by the royalists, protected only by a few of his followers, the fugitives rallied; whereupon the former fell back on Valladolid, carrying off some of the insurgents' cannon and standards, their retreat being covered by Llano's infantry.

Though checked for a moment, the panic still continued: for the revolutionists imagined that Calleja's army was on their flank and rear, while the garrison of Valladolid had been strongly re-enforced. In vain their officers clung to the scattered regiments, upbraiding, entreating them, and driving back the fugitives at the point of the sword. All their efforts were useless, and they were finally compelled to spike the guns and follow after the rout, a mere handful of men remaining at daybreak on the heights of Santa María.

On the 5th of January, 1814, the forces of Morelos, reduced to 3,000, made a final stand behind their intrenchments near the village of Puruaran; but their spirit was broken, and a few well-directed shots put them to flight. During the retreat, Iturbide again dashed in upon them with his cavalry; and then followed a general massacre, the corpses of the slain being strewn along the road for a distance of more than two leagues, while 700 of the insurgents were captured, among them being being Matamoros and a number of the foremost captains. An offer to set free 200 royalist prisoners in exchange for the release of the former was refused, and a month later this favorite chieftain was shot at Valladolid, meeting his fate with the calmness which he had ever displayed on the field of battle.

The victory at Valladolid opened to Calleja the gates of the southern provinces, and at once he ordered his lieutenants to set forth in pursuit of the scattered bands of insurgents, putting to death all who had failed to submit. Even Chimpancingo was threatened by the royalists, under Armijo, and when news arrived of Morelos' defeat, the congress took into its own hands the control of affairs, seeking refuge at Tlacotepec, where, at the end of January, its sessions were renewed. Here

soon afterward Morelos arrived with the remnant of his forces, mustering about 1,000 men, and humbled by his reverses, readily surrendered the executive power. Though confirmed in his rank as generalissimo, he was not intrusted with the control of his troops, and henceforth was no longer in harmony with his colleagues.

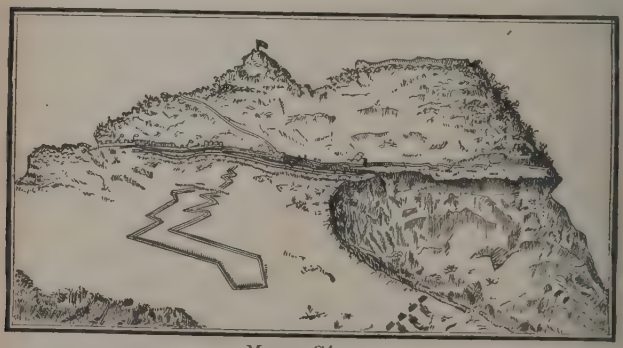
But further disasters were yet in store for the revolutionists. A body of 1,500 recruits which attempted to check Armijo's advance was scattered almost without firing a shot, and the congress at Tlacatopec narrowly escaped surprise, the members taking to flight with the loss of all their effects, including the seal and archives. Marching on Acapulco, Armijo found the city abandoned and in flames, the loss thus caused to the inhabitants and to the merchants of Mexico being immense, for this was now the wealthiest city on the Pacific coast of North America. Near by the insurgent Galeana was driven from a strongly fortified position, and was soon afterward captured and shot.

In Oajaca the royalists were no less successful, the entire province being reconquered, and many of the leading insurgents stooping low for pardon, only to rejoin the cause as soon as opportunity offered. Vera Cruz and Puebla then became the centre of revolutionist operations, and here the elder Rayon and other chieftains still held out; but their campaigns had been reduced to mere raids, and often the leaders were arrayed against each other, intent only on plunder, in pursuit of which they would draw their sword on foe or comrade.

In Guanajuato and around its borders, Iturbide claimed that in less than two months he and his lieutenants had slaughtered some 900 of the revolutionists, including many of their captains. It is somewhat remarkable that in this fell destroyer, whose greatest delight was to hunt down human beings as tigers hunt their prey, we find the man who later struck the decisive blow for the cause of independence, and was acknowledged as the liberator of Mexico.

Thus the revolution had assumed an aspect very different

from that presented when Calleja was appointed viceroy. His plans had been carefully matured, and in the main skilfully executed. The congress was humbled; Matamoros, Galeana, and the Villagranes were no more, and even Morelos was but a shadow of his former self. Oajaca and Tecpan — the modern Guerrero — were at his feet; in the north there was little disturbance, and in the central provinces all that seemed necessary was to keep watch on a few isolated bands in their mountain fastnesses. Nevertheless the insurgents were still sufficiently numerous to cause serious annoyance, especially



MOUNT CÓPORO.

to the trade and industries of Mexico; and in August 1814, the viceroy, unable to hold them in check, appealed to the home government for a re-enforcement of 8,000 men.

Amid the series of reverses sustained by the revolutionist leaders in Michoacan, Ramon Rayon alone was in a position to offer organized resistance. At the head of 650 men, he had selected a retreat of great natural strength on the Cóporo hill, north of Zitácuaro, accessible only on one side, which was protected by three batteries, mounted with 34 guns, in front being a wide moat, surmounted with a stockade. Toward the end of January 1815, Llano and Iturbide, in command of

3,000 royalists, laid siege to this stronghold. For more than a month no impression was made, though trenches were pushed forward to within a few hundred feet of the insurgent lines. An attempt to carry the position by assault, the storming party being led by Iturbide, was defeated, and the victor of Valladolid retired, as he relates, from the scene of his first repulse "with the fortunate result of saving four fifths of his men."

Meanwhile, after being driven from Chimpancingo and Tlacotepec, the members of the revolutionary congress had taken refuge in a small town near the western border of Michoacan, and thence proposed to remove to Tehuacan, amid the foothills of the mountain range that separates Puebla from Vera Cruz. Here they might find at least a more stable abode, and recover some portion of the dignity and influence denied them while flitting as a fugitive body amid neighboring haciendas, with scanty means and ragged retinue. As Morelos was best acquainted with the region which intervened, and held the most influence over its inhabitants, he was intrusted with the command of the escort, amounting with re-enforcements from Nicolás Bravo and others to about 1,000 men, of whom perhaps one half were supplied with fire-arms.

Calleja had been informed as to this movement, and though at first baffled by the feints of Morelos, had ascertained to some extent the line of the enemy's route. Near Tezmalaca, in eastern Guerrero, the revolutionists were suddenly confronted with a force of 600 royalists, and after a feeble resistance a portion of the escort was put to flight. Seeing that all was lost, the generalissimo exclaimed in the hearing of Bravo, who still held his ground on the insurgent left, "Go, protect the congress; it matters not what becomes of me." After vainly attempting to rally his men, he bade those around him escape as best they could, and with a single attendant reached the base of a neighboring hill, where he dismounted, purposing to climb on foot. At this moment a

squadron of horse came up, led by Lieutenant Carranco, who had formerly served under Morelos. "Surrender!" cried the lieutenant, as he waved his sword behind the levelled carbines of his troopers. Rĕsistance was useless, and quietly removing from his lips the cigar which he had been smoking, Morelos replied: "Señor Carranco, it would seem that we know each other."

On his way to Mexico the captive chieftain was annoyed no less by the impertinent questions of the royalist officers than by the dull gaze of the vacant-minded mob which lined the thoroughfares of every town and village. Asked by one of the former what he would have done if the capture had been reversed, he curtly replied: "I would have given you two hours for confession and then have shot you." To a woman who grossly insulted him, he mildly answered: "Is there nothing that you can find to do at home?"

At his trial, Morelos pleaded that there was no recognized monarch of Spain during the earlier portion of the war, the restoration of Ferdinand VII. being due to a compact with Napoleon. The decrees of the church had no weight among an independent people unless sanctioned by the Vatican. Slaughter and pillage were among the necessary evils of war, and the execution of royalist officers was merely a reprisal justified by circumstances. The defence of his counsel covered almost the same ground. Morelos had made war, not against Spain, but against the córtes, and as that body had been declared illegal and its acts annulled, the accused stood absolved, if not justified.

The church then took the prisoner in hand. Intent on branding the insurrection, the inquisition condemned its reputed leader as a heretic, who had profaned the sacraments, neglected religious duties, ignored all ecclesiastical authority, and led an immoral life. In partial expiation, he was arrayed in penitential robes, in which, before a vast assembly, he was required to abjure his errors and perform his religious exercises. At the ceremony of reconciliation, the accused

listened on bended knee to the recitation of the miserere, and was purified by the infliction of blows gently applied; for the torture-chamber and the stake had been abolished, and the auto-de-fé of Morelos was the last imposing spectacle of the inquisition. The act of degradation was performed by the bishop of Oajaca, who burst into tears during the ceremony, calling forth the only sign of emotion that had yet been displayed by the penitent.

Sentence of death was pronounced, and on the morning of the 22d of December, 1815, Morelos was conducted to San Cristóbal Ecatepec, a village north of the lake of Mexico, where in former days the viceroys received their successors. His last prayer uttered, he was led forth, heavily shackled, to the place of execution. "Kneel!" said the officer in charge; and calmly the great leader obeyed, exclaiming: "Lord, thou knowest if I have done well; if not, I implore thy infinite mercy." The next moment he fell, shot through the heart, and the Servant of the Nation was no more.

MEDAL OF APATZINGAN CONGRESS.

CHAPTER XXXIX

CLOSE OF THE REVOLUTIONARY WAR.

For his operations in 1815, Calleja had at his command 30,000 men, of whom one half were regulars, and the remainder local militia; and if to this number be added the armed citizens in towns, villages, and haciendas, the royalists could place in the field some 80,000 men. Of the revolutionists, the strongest organized force was in the neighborhood of Tehuacan, consisting of about 2,000 well armed and disciplined troops, under Manuel Mier y Teran. In Mizteca, Guerrero and Sesma could muster together about a thousand mountaineers. In Vera Cruz, Victoria was at the head of about 2,000, most of them being mounted rancheros, intent only on spoil and adventure. In Puebla, Osorno had a similar force, while Torres was in charge of about 800 insurgents in the lowlands of Guanajuato, and in Michoacan the Rayon brothers still retained a few hundred followers. There were among the insurgents 7,000 or 8,000 muskets, 1,000 pairs of pistols, and about 200 cannon, though many of the fire-arms were worn out and useless. Whenever an expedition was on foot that gave promise of rich booty, it was always found that the numbers prepared to join it were thrice as many as could be furnished with suitable weapons.

On the 16th of November the fugitive congress reached Tehuacan, with but a dilapidated remnant of its escort, much to the disgust of Teran, who was now the most successful of the revolutionary leaders. Its arbitrary measures, and the injudicious appointment of deputies, caused him serious annoyance; and on being deprived of the financial control of affairs, he determined to bring about the dissolution of this useless and cumbersome assembly.

Of the several campaigns, if such they can be called, it remains only to be said that the insurgents were defeated at Huamantla, near the city of Tlascala; while in Oajaca Teran was more fortunate, both by land and sea, the first naval success of the revolutionary war being gained by the schooner *Patriot*, on board of which the insurgents boldly hoisted the Mexican flag. On the other hand, Osorno, his command being increased to 1,600 strong, was routed in a series of engagements; and Guerrero, though holding his ground, failed in his attempts to assume the offensive.

Thus ended in Mexico the military operations of Calleja, who, during the following year, was succeeded as viceroy by Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, a naval officer, whose ability had gained for him the rank of admiral in the royal navy, and afterward the appointment of ambassador to England.

Landing at Vera Cruz in August, the new viceroy obtained a practical insight into the condition of affairs during the journey to the capital, his party narrowly escaping capture at the hands of Osorno. The former retaliated only by releasing the prisoners taken during the skirmish, and requesting his wife and daughters to tend those who were wounded. This humane proceeding, together with his kindness toward other captives, and the strict orders given to prevent the arbitrary execution of insurgents, tended to soothe the ire of the revolutionists. In the capital, however, he made himself unpopular by issuing a number of ridiculous decrees, one of them against kite-flying, thus bringing on himself the contempt of the populace.

Apodaca followed in the main the plan of operations outlined by his predecessor; and his orders were executed with such prompt obedience that there was soon a radical change in the condition of affairs. In January 1817, Teran, Osorno, and other revolutionist chieftains surrendered to the royalists, and the leniency extended to them, coupled with their persuasion and example, enabled Llano to report from Puebla that peace was restored in that section. In Vera Cruz the royalist

arms were also successful, and applications for pardon poured in from every quarter, a few scattered bands, one of them headed by Victoria, being all that remained of the insurgent forces on the gulf coast. In Mizteca and Tecpan, the viceroy's commanders ended a brilliant campaign by driving back Guerrero and Nicolás Bravo to the lowlands of the River Zacatula, there to await an opportunity to retrieve their fortunes. At Cóporo, Ramon Rayon surrendered to Aguirre, and in Nueva Galicia the rock of Mescala was captured.

Among those who resented the arbitrary measures of Ferdinand VII., when after his return from ignominious captivity he overthrew the constitution and the córtes, was a young Navarrese, by name Espoz y Mina. A student in the University of Zaragoza, when in 1808 the French invasion roused to fury the dormant passions of a nation once recognized as the first military power in Europe, he threw aside the scholar's gown for the soldier's uniform, and while still almost a beardless youth, was acknowledged as the foremost guerilla chieftain in the peninsula. Seeking refuge in England, after the failure of a plot to depose his sovereign, he obtained men, money, and arms wherewith to fit out an expedition for Mexico, and in May 1816 took ship at Liverpool. While on the point of embarkation, news of the reverses sustained by the insurgents caused him to change his course for the United States, where he purchased or chartered three other vessels, and enlisted recruits. Landing at Soto la Marina in Tamaulipas about the middle of April, he took possession of the town, and assumed the title of General of the Relief Army of the Republic of Mexico. Joined by 200 rancheros, he built there an adobe fort for the protection of his supplies. Then at the head of 300 troops he marched on the province of Guanajuato, where at this date was the revolutionist centre.

With the exception perhaps of the expedition of Cortés, no such deed of daring was accomplished in Mexico as that of Espoz y Mina, who now, at the head of a mere handful of

followers, confronted a nation in arms. On the 15th of June he was met, near San Luis Potosí, by a force of 1,700 royalists, consisting mainly of cavalry. Retreat was impossible, and leaving a portion of his command at a neighboring hacienda in charge of the baggage, Mina drew up the remainder in square to resist the attack of a veteran force ten times their number. After the first onslaught Mina gave orders to fall

MINA'S OPERATIONS.

back on the hacienda, his band being outflanked by cavalry and assailed in front by a column of infantry. But this movement was merely a feint, and at the critical moment Mina led his men to the charge. One blinding volley was delivered, and then amid the smoke appeared the gleam of bayonets in serried line. The royalist infantry fell back in confusion, and the cavalry breaking through their ranks in panic flight turned defeat into total rout.

The city was captured without a blow, and then followed a three days' march across a bare silent plain, laid desolate by the ravages of war. As the Navarrese leader advanced, his fame preceded him; the foe, in order to excuse their failure, declared his followers to be demons, and not men. Near San Felipe the royalists were again defeated with the loss of 500 men; and here occurred an incident which shed lustre on the cause of the revolution. In exchange for a favorite officer who had been captured, Mina offered 200 prisoners. He was refused; whereupon he ordered his captives to be placed in front of the troops, and said to them: "Behold the heartless indifference of your government. Your lives are doubly mine, -mine by victory and retaliation; yet you are free! You may join my standard or go your way in peace."

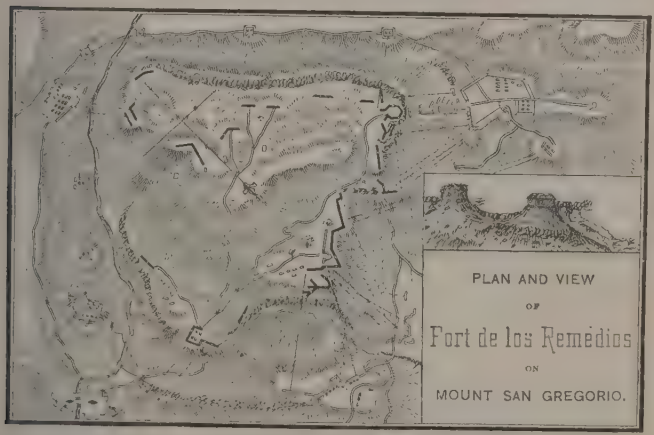
At Sombrero, a hill fortress near the town of Leon, his forces, then mustering 650 men, were besieged by the royalists under the mariscal de campo Liñan, at the head of 4,000 troops. Mina escaped through the enemy's lines, to obtain at the hands of Torres the supplies furnished by the revolutionists of Guanajuato; but relief came too late.

There were 200 women and children in Sombrero, and the provisions and water were almost consumed. The rainy season was at hand; but from the passing clouds there fell no drop of water. Many ventured forth, heedless of cannon-balls and bullets, to dig up the roots which still retained some particles of moisture, and women and children stole by night to a neighboring brook, there to be captured by the enemy. Negotiations were opened, but no terms were offered except unconditional surrender. Colonel Young, an American officer and second in command, proposed to cut his way out; but others demurred, whereupon the colonel swore that he would remain until the last. Soon afterward the attempt was made, and the besieged, abandoning their sick and wounded, crept stealthily down the slope, gaining the level ground.

At this moment a cry arose from some frightened women who had been allowed to precede the garrison. And now fol-

lowed a massacre more hideous than any which had yet occurred during the revolutionary war. The royalists sprang like bloodhounds on their victims, caring not whether their bullets and lances were aimed at men, women, or children, and corpses were strewn far out on the plain, only 50 of the fugitives making their escape. At dawn the fort was occupied, and there the royalist commander ordered the sick and wounded prisoners to be brought forth in batches and shot, the maimed being supported on wooden frames, as targets for their executioners.

Sixty miles to the south of Sombrero, Torres was encamped in a fortress which he had named Los Remedios, and to this

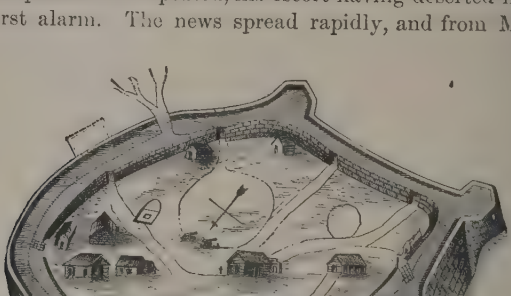


FORT OF LOS REMEDIOS.

stronghold the royalists laid siege about the end of August. It had been arranged that Mina should attack the enemy's convoys and cut off their supplies; but less than threescore were left of those who had accompanied him from Europe and the United States, the remainder of his command consisting of unreliable troops, mustering in all some 1,400 men. Finding

them no match for the disciplined troops of the royalists, he marched on Guanajuato, and so sudden and secret were his movements that he penetrated far into the town before the garrison were aware even of his approach. But the latter, led by Linares, easily dispersed the intruders, who were in fact little better than an armed mob, and Mina dismissed them in disgust, retaining only 100 of their number.

While resting at the hacienda of Mariano Herrera, Mina was surprised and captured, his escort having deserted him at the first alarm. The news spread rapidly, and from Mexico

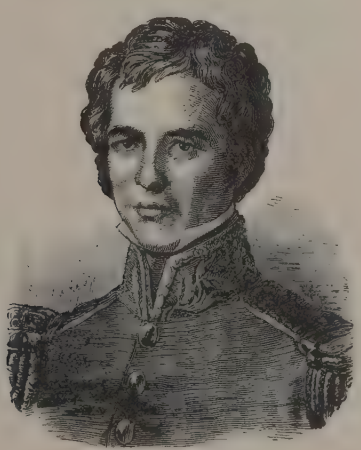


FORT JAUJILLA.

orders were issued to celebrate the event with ringing of bells and other manifestations of joy. Conducted to the royalists' camp, the leader was shot in sight of the garrison of Los Remedios, which was evacuated on the 1st of January, 1818, Torres escaping with a handful of men.

Meanwhile other reverses had overtaken the insurgents. On the 1st of December, 1817, Cóporo was carried by assault. A few days afterward Ignacio Rayon and Nicolás Bravo were captured. The fortress of Jaujilla, situated on an isolated rock in the lake of Zacapo, surrendered, after a two months' siege, in March of the following year, several prominent revo-

lutionists falling into the enemy's hands. Others of the insurgent captains submitted, though a few still scorned to yield, among them being Victoria. A reward being offered for his arrest, he fled to the woods and mountains, where for several months he was hunted like a wild beast, though always baffling his pursuers. For more than two years he lived without a single companion, his sufferings from hunger and exposure being almost incredible. During all this period he never saw the face of a human being, and his clothes were torn to shreds,



GUADALUPE VICTORIA.

his wardrobe being reduced to a single cotton wrapper, while at times he existed for an entire week on one scanty meal. Nevertheless, he endured until the end.

All the hopes of the revolutionists were now centred in Guerrero, who still retained a feeble band of followers, hoping, and praying, and laboring that the day might come when new men and new leaders would rally round the banner of liberty; but it was destined that independence should finally be gained by other means, and under the leadership of a former enemy to the cause.

In April 1820, news was first received in the capital of the revolutionary movements in Spain, causing great excitement among the Spanish poplulation, some of whom welcomed the change with enthusiasm, while others were opposed to it. Clandestine meetings of various political parties were held, at which a great variety of opinions was expressed. Although all classes, with the exception of the Spaniards, longed for independence, there was much difference of opinion as to the

VICENTE GUERRERO

best mode of securing it, and the form of government to be adopted. With regard to the first point, the expulsion of the Spaniards, or even their extermination, and the more moderate proposal that they should only be excluded from public office were severally advocated. As to the form of government, absolute monarchy, a limited monarchy with a constitution expressly framed for Mexico, and a federal republic were the various plans discussed, each one having its supporters. But in order to carry out their plans, a military leader was needed on whom all could rely, and the one selected as

the man for the purpose was Agustin de Iturbide. The overtures made to him were readily accepted, for he was now living in retirement and also in poverty, and eagerly welcomed an opportunity to acquire fame and wealth.

Iturbide's first intention was to make himself master of the

AGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.

capital; but it was finally concluded that it would be safer to begin operations in the provinces. He therefore applied to the viceroy for a military command, and was appointed to succeed Armijo, in charge of the army of the south. By means of flattering promises and assurances of devotion, he then induced the viceroy to place at his disposal a considerable force, together with large sums of money, directing his first operations against Guerrero, in order to cloak his real design. But at the hands of this chieftain Iturbide suffered defeat, and fearing that a longer struggle would frustrate his own projects,

proposed to him to join his cause. Though at first refused, the offer was finally accepted; and now, finding himself at the head of some 5,500 men, he issued a proclamation, setting forth the necessity for independence, and containing his project for a future government. This was called the plan of Iguala, from the name of the town where the leader was then stationed, its main features being the maintenance of the Roman Catholic religion, with all the privileges of its clergy, and the establishment of a limited monarchy, with equal rights as between Europeans and Americans.

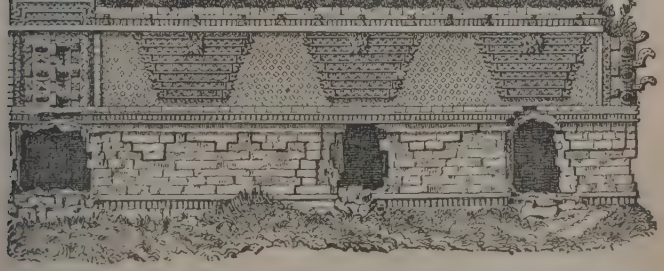
No time was lost in laying these proceedings before the viceroy, Iturbide addressing to him letters in which he tendered him the presidency of the junta, and enclosed a list of the proposed members. Apodaca rejected this offer, and at once issued a proclamation warning the people against the schemes of the revolutionists. He also concentrated his troops within a short distance of the capital, and made preparations for organizing an army to operate against the conspirators in the south. Nor were measures of policy neglected, a general pardon being proclaimed to all who should abandon Iturbide's standard, and the leader himself declared an outlaw.

In the campaign which followed, there were no features of interest, the viceroy in vain attempting to arouse among his troops the spirit of loyalty. Province after province declared for the revolutionists, and at length a mutiny broke out in the capital, where, Apodaca's feeble efforts to suppress the rebellion being regarded with suspicion, it was resolved to depose him. His successor was Lieutenant-General Juan O'Donojú, who, on arriving at Vera Cruz, found it impossible to advance a single step without coming in contact with the enemy. Finding no other course open to him, he agreed to recognize the independence of Mexico, and formally to surrender to Iturbide the possession of the capital.

On the 27th of September, 1821, the leader arrived at the convent of San Francisco, where he was met by the town council, and alighting from his horse, received the congratu-

lations of the members of the city council. Then followed the ceremony of delivering to him the keys of the city, which were presented on a silver platter, and returned with appropriate remarks. At the palace, he was received by the viceroy, who had entered the city on the preceding day. Then followed a religious ceremony, with all the imposing rites of the Romish ritual.

Thus at length Mexico was free, and nothing was left to Spain of this the brightest jewel in her crown save the cities of Vera Cruz, Perok, and Acapulco. Independence, which ten years of strife had failed to achieve, was won by the aid of Iturbide within a few months, and almost without bloodshed. Amid the glory of his triumph the victor affected humility; and in the midst of the popular enthusiasm, when thousands of voices shouted forth his name for joy, he asked merely as his reward permission to retire into private life, carrying with him only the kind remembrances of the people. But all the while the flame of ambition was burning in his heart. On that very day a project had been formed to proclaim him emperor; and though the time was not yet ripe, he was none the less determined to secure for himself the imperial sceptre.



PART V.—UNITED STATES OF MEXICO.

CHAPTER XL.

AGUSTIN DE ITURBIDE.

On the 28th of September, 1821, the members selected by Iturbide for the sovereign provisional junta assembled in the hall of the viceregal palace, the viceroy himself being present. Iturbide briefly laid before them the points requiring their attention, declared himself subject to their direction, and offered his services and those of the army in their behalf. The members then repaired to the cathedral, where, after the oath had been administered, each swearing to support the plan of Iguala and faithfully discharge the duties of his office, Iturbide was elected president.

The first act of the junta was to issue a declaration of independence, wherein Mexico was proclaimed a sovereign nation, independent of Spain, there being no longer any bond of union between them save that of friendship. The next proceeding was to nominate a regency composed of five members, with Iturbide as president, and the viceroy as one of his colleagues. A few days later occurred the death of O'Donojú; and with his demise the last shadow of viceregal authority disappeared forever from Mexico.

In token of the nation's gratitude, a yearly stipend of $120,000 was conferred on the president, together with the titles of most serene highness, generalissimo, and admiral. The promotions which he recommended in the army were adopted by the regency, and at his suggestion medals were distributed among the troops, bearing the motto "Orbem ab orbe solvit," the design representing two worlds disunited

The triumph of the revolution was immediately followed by the capture of the few remaining points which had held out to the last, the only exception being the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa. Before the end of October this was the sole possession remaining to Ferdinand VII. of all his Mexican colonies. On the 9th of that month the fortress of Perote capitulated; on the 15th Acapulco surrendered; and on the 27th the town council of Vera Cruz passed an act recognizing the authority of the regency.

Under the new order of affairs few Europeans remained in office, even those whom the government desired to retain declining to serve, notwithstanding the earnest solicitations of the president. Many were in fear of assassination; and so great was the number of Spaniards who demanded their passports, that a decree was issued by the junta forbidding them to leave the country, or even to remove their property, until action should be taken in the matter by the congress then about to be convened.

According to the so-called treaty of Córdoba, in which O'Donojú, in his sovereign's name, recognized the independence of Mexico and gave his assent to the plan of Iguala, the elections for congress were to be conducted in the manner prescribed by the Spanish constitution. This method, however, would not suit the designs of Iturbide, who proposed to make the members as subservient to his interests as were those of the regency. If, with this view, he could procure the appointment of a body of representatives not specially gifted with intelligence, and at the same time well packed with more sagacious adherents of his own, then would his aim be almost accomplished. He therefore laid before the junta a plan for the election designed by himself, the basis of which was that each class and profession should choose its own deputies. His measure was adopted in all its main points; and it was provided that, in provinces which were entitled to four representatives, or to any larger number, three of them and no more should be clergymen, military officers, and magistrates or lawyers.

During all these proceedings, Iturbide made the most humble protestations to the people. He declared that his colleagues in the regency, his comrades in arms, and he himself were but the devoted servants of the nation. The public weal was the loadstar of his aspirations, and whenever his country desired it, he would retire to private life. But there were few deceived by this hypocrisy, and there were none blind to the fact that a blow had been struck at the liberties of the people in their right to select at will their own representatives. As the result of this policy, a plot was formed for the purpose of securing untrammelled liberty of election, and with a view to establishing a republic, among the conspirators being several of the revolutionary leaders, including Victoria and Nicolás Bravo. The president received due warning, however, and the leaders were arrested, though, as rigorous measures would at this juncture be injudicious, most of them were liberated.

Other causes of dissatisfaction were at work among all classes. During the eleven years of strife which had just come to an end, the revenue had been so greatly reduced as to be entirely inadequate to the expenditure of the new government, which to gain popularity recklessly voted large pensions and salaries, while diminishing its resources by wholesale reductions in taxation Free-trade was declared to be the policy of the junta; but as commercial relations with Spain were closed, and had not with other countries been established, commerce was almost at a stand-still, with corresponding loss to the treasury. All industries had fallen into decay, especially that of mining; and such was the scarcity of funds, that the provinces, instead of contributing to the finances of the regency, were compelled to apply for subsidies. Nevertheless, by appealing for subscriptions to wealthy corporations and individuals, and by other means, it was made to appear that for the four months ending on the 27th of January, 1822, the public revenue amounted to $1,274,695, and the public expenditure to $1,272,458. Of the latter amount nearly eighty per cent was set apart for army estimates, and about nine per cent for

the payment of Iturbide's salary,—dating back from the time when he first proclaimed the plan of Iguala,—thus leaving only some $170,000 for the general purposes of government.

Meanwhile the elections had been held, and the deputies were already arriving in the capital, though events had occurred which somewhat altered the character of the national assembly. In September 1821, Central America had declared its independence, and many of the people had pronounced in favor of union with Mexico. But the claims of some of the provinces, and of the various factions there, to separate and form individual governments had produced such a conflict of opinion that for a time anarchy prevailed. At the request of certain parties in Guatemala, a considerable force had been sent by Iturbide to preserve order; and in the midst of the confusion a letter addressed by the generalissimo to the captain-general of Guatemala, setting forth the advantages of annexation, was printed and issued as a circular in all the leading towns. A vote taken on this measure resulted in an immense majority in its favor, and it thereupon became necessary to provide for the representation of the country in congress. As the deputies could not arrive in time for the opening session, there were appointed forty substitutes, residents of Mexico but natives of Central America, who were to serve only until the arrival of the members elect.

At daybreak on the 24th of February, salvos of artillery announced to the residents of the capital that the first Mexican congress was about to be inaugurated. No effort had been spared to render the spectacle worthy of the occasion, and to please the fancy of the populace. The streets were carpeted, and the buildings profusely decorated with garlands, flags, and colored drapery, while the procession which conducted the representatives to the cathedral was most imposing. Preceded by the members of the regency and junta, and accompanied by a military escort, the representatives marched, to the music of regimental bands, between long lines of troops, dressed in

their brightest uniforms. To the mere spectator, the pageant seemed a befitting honor to the chosen ones of the nation; but to many of the deputies this ostentatious display, with its pomp and glitter, was extremely painful, for they were not deceived as to its significance.

Soon after the commencement of the session the members of the national assembly divided themselves into three parties. These were the Bourbonists, who rigidly sustained the plan of Iguala, and declared for a constitutional monarchy under a prince of the house of Bourbon; the Iturbidists, who also adopted the plan of Iguala in its main features, but desired to place Iturbide on the throne; and the republicans, who entirely ignored the plan, and were in favor of a federal republic.

By a decree of the 13th of February, 1822, the Spanish córtes declared the treaty of Córdoba null, so far as the government and its subjects were concerned. This decision broke up the Bourbonist faction, some joining the ranks of the republicans, while others, who would have a king under any circumstances, and still hoped to see some prince of royal blood on the throne, cast in their lot with the Iturbidists. Henceforth the struggle was confined to these two parties, and soon the contest became interesting.

In the proclamation issued by Iturbide concerning the elections, it had been stated, or at least implied, that he would resign the presidency during the first session of congress; but soon it became evident that he had no such intention, and hence arose discord between himself and the national assembly. Moreover, he had displayed in an offensive manner his want of sympathy with the former leaders of the rebellion, and had drawn a broad line of distinction between the insurrection which failed under Hidalgo and the revolution which succeeded under his own leadership.

But the question of gravest importance, and that which placed Iturbide and the congress in antagonism to each other, was the condition of the treasury. Thus far, the deficit had been covered by temporary expedients; but such means were

now exhausted, and measures must be adopted for permanent relief. There were no funds wherewith to pay the troops, and yet Iturbide declared that an army of 36,000 men was needed, most of them to be stationed in the capital, though the minister of war could not satisfactorily explain why they should be quartered in the city when they could be supported at less cost in the provinces.

This want of union was not without result, and it was believed by certain of the leading royalists, among whom was General Dávila, that the dominion of Spain might be restored by a counter-revolution. Many of the Spanish troops yet remained in the country awaiting means of transport, and were disgusted at the prospect of retiring ignominiously from a country which for three centuries had been held in subjection by their forefathers. When the dissensions between Iturbide and the assembly became serious, Dávila hoped to win back the former to his allegiance, and addressed to him a letter unfolding his design, inviting him to aid in its consummation, and promising, in the name of the king, not only forgiveness, but recompense for his services. By many it is believed that, in order to carry out his own plans, this overture was favorably received by the president; but be this as it may, Dávila's efforts were frustrated and his troops defeated.

Meanwhile, Iturbide had brought to a climax the dispute between himself and the congress. The assembly had closed its sessions during holy week; but on the 3d of April the deputies were hastily summoned by Iturbide, under the plea that he wished to communicate to them matters of vital importance to the nation. They objected to meet the generalissimo in formal session, unless he was accompanied by other members of the regency; and though the former protested, they remained firm in their refusal, adjourning until this condition was complied with. When their sittings were renewed, the regent Yañez stated that he was not aware of the purpose for which he had been summoned, but that he had observed an unusual excitement among the public, and was surprised

that the regency had not been informed as to its cause. Thereupon Iturbide, losing his temper, turned toward Yañez, and holding forth some papers, hotly exclaimed: "You know nothing; the fact is, there are traitors both in the regency and the congress, as these documents will prove." "As for traitors," replied Yañez, "it is you who are the traitor." For a time confusion prevailed, and but for the interference of the president of the congress, matters might have been brought to a crisis; but presently the regents retired, and the assembly proceeded to examine the papers. Nothing was found in them that could implicate any of the members, Dávila's letter being the only one from which the vaguest inference could be drawn, and suspicion pointed to Iturbide himself as the one who had held correspondence with the enemy.

The junta had surrendered its powers in favor of the assembly; but not so the president of the regency. "By what authority," it was demanded, "had Iturbide been in correspondence with Dávila, without the knowledge or consent of congress?" When the president of the national legislature replied with the ominous words, "Cæsar has passed the Rubicon," the excitement became for the moment uncontrollable. Quiet being restored, a commission was sent to Iturbide, requesting him to supply other documents in support of his accusations, as those already produced failed to substantiate his charges. Thereupon he returned to the council-chamber and designated by name eleven of the deputies, all of whom were held in esteem by the congress. His statements only roused afresh the indignation of his audience; while the oft-told story of his own exploits, and his thread-bare professions of disinterestedness, were received at best with a shrug of disdain. Truly it was a contemptible part that he was playing; and but for the cooler judgment of certain of the deputies, a vote would have been passed declaring him a traitor. Thus the generalissimo was defeated at every point, his schemes to enhance his importance and to malign his colleagues resulting only in his own humiliation.

While Iturbide and the congress were thus quarrelling, the republican party was constantly gaining strength. The decision of the córtes rejecting the treaty of Córdoba was already known, and the plan of Iguala was no longer contemned in smothered whispers. Members of the assembly openly raised their voices against it; a portion of the press sustained their views, and even the army declared in favor of republican principles. Meantime the legislature was adopting measures which aimed directly at curtailing the power of the president. After long and angry discussion, it had been decreed that the number of troops should be reduced to 20,000, and a measure was about to be introduced, providing that no member of the regency should hold military command.

And now the die is cast. If the schemes of the president are ever to be successful, immediate action must be taken. As yet, the greater portion of the army can be relied upon; the clergy will support him in suppressing measures threatening their own interests and of the people. Iturbide is the acknowledged favorite. By a liberal distribution of funds he further wins the support of the military and the populace. All being in readiness, on the night of the 18th of May one Pio Marcho, a sergeant in the first infantry regiment, calls the men to arms, who, sallying forth, raise the cry of Viva Agustin I.!

The soldiers are joined by crowds of citizens, and amid deafening shouts multitudes throng from all points to the quarters of the generalissimo and proclaim him emperor. Of course Iturbide is apparently overwhelmed at this unexpected demonstration. Several times he addresses the assemblage from the balcony of his residence, expressing his surprise, and protesting his unwillingness to accept the imperial crown. But if, like Cæsar, he thrice refuses, the acclaim of the people at length begin to take effect. Sending for his officers, and for certain of the regents and deputies who are among his stanchest supporters, he beseeches of them aid and counsel in this the hour of trial. They urge him to yield to the wishes of the people, and with well-feigned reluctance he returns to bow in submission to their will.

Then follows a scene of the wildest commotion. Cannon are dragged forth and fired as quickly as the gunners can load. From the church towers the peal of bells is mingled with the whiz of rockets shooting forth from all parts of the city, and night is turned into day with bonfires and illuminations. But the rejoicing is by no means universal. Those who had resisted the pretensions of Iturbide retire to their homes in fear and trembling, for the tumult may end in violence, and terror and exultation prevail alike throughout the capital. Meanwhile, Iturbide continues to play his part. A proclamation is issued, stating that it rests with the nation to confirm or disapprove the choice of the army and the citizens of Mexico, whom he exhorts not to give way to the excitement of the moment, but calmly await the decision of the national assembly.

At seven o'clock on the following morning the congress assembled in special session. At first it was attempted to conduct the proceedings with closed doors, but this was found impossible. The uproar of the mob was deafening; and it became necessary to send for Iturbide, whose influence it was thought would allay the tumult, and secure for the members freedom of debate. At first he objected to being present at a discussion of which he was himself the subject; but finally, yielding to the advice of his ministers, he proceeded to the assembly-hall, his carriage being dragged by the people. No sooner had he entered than the multitude crowded into the building with loud cries of "Viva Agustin I.!" The deliberations which followed were constantly interrupted, and all opposition to an immediate decision was met with clamorous disapprobation.

In vain did the bolder spirits propose to await the verdict of the provinces; their voices were drowned in the uproar, and they sat down amid shouts of "Coronation or death!" Thrice did Iturbide address this turbulent gathering, but his words failed to allay the tempest which he had so dexterously aroused; and thus, under coercion and menace, the deputies

cast their votes. Of the 82 members who were present, 67 pronounced in favor of an empire, and though the decision was invalid, since the presence of 102 representatives was required to constitute a quorum, it satisfied the multitude. The president of the assembly then resigned his seat to the emperor elect.

Thus was the plan of Iguala set aside, while the schemes of Iturbide were triumphant. But it was a triumph won by trickery, amid the vivas of a military mob and the hoarse plaudits of the rabble. Yet it cannot be said that his victory was regarded altogether with disfavor. The dilatory proceedings of their rulers, first of the junta and then of the congress, had exhausted the patience of the people. Nine months had been frittered away in useless ceremonies, trifling discussions, and unseemly altercations, while vital affairs of state, as the framing of a constitution, and the organization of the various departments of government, were almost neglected. Popular discontent was the consequence, and it was but natural that the people should look for aid to him who had already released them from the yoke of the viceroys.

On the 21st of May, Iturbide took the oath prescribed by the representatives of the nation, swearing to observe the constitution which the congress was about to frame, together with all orders and decrees issued by that body; never to transfer, or allow to be transferred, any portion of the territory of the empire, and to respect the political freedom and personal liberties of the people. He then addressed to the members and the people at large a brief proclamation, concluding with these words: "If, Mexicans, I do not secure the happiness of the country; if at any time I forget my duties, — then let my administration come to an end."

At this moment, no shadow dimmed the brightness of the emperor's prospects. Congratulations flowed in from every side; many of the revolutionary chieftains offered their lives in his service, and already the throne seemed firm beneath him, the sceptre secure in his grasp. Nor did congress hesitate

to do him honor. The crown was declared hereditary, and the succession secured to his eldest son, on whom was conferred the title of Prince Imperial. His family was ennobled, the children being styled princes and princesses of Mexico, while his father was proclaimed Prince of the Union. The day on which he was elected emperor was added to the list of national festivals, and his bust was ordered to be stamped on the coins of the realm, on the face being the inscription, "Augustinus Dei Providentia;" on the reverse a crowned eagle; and on the circumference the words, "Mexici primus imperator constitutionalis."

The imperial household was remodelled on a basis befitting the dignity of a sovereign. There was a high-steward and a king's almoner; equerries in waiting and a master of the horse; a body-guard, with its captain, its staff, and its aids. There were chaplains and physicians; pages, and gentlemen of the bed chamber; and all the officers and officials usually attached to the courts of royalty.

The 21st of July was appointed for the coronation; and as the time approached elaborate preparations were made for the ceremony, the committee of regulations handing to the assembly the result of their labors more than a month before. As there were no funds in the treasury, it was impossible to make ready with befitting display the paraphernalia of royalty; but jewels and gems were borrowed; and though the Monte Pio, where were stored the treasures of the national pawnshop, refused to lend its pearls and diamonds, the regal insignia glittered with tinsel splendor.

On the morning of the coronation day the city was brilliantly decorated; from balconies and windows fluttered many colored banners and streamers, while the walls were decked with floral wreaths, and flags waved from church towers and turrets. At eight o'clock the assembly met, and two deputations, each composed of twenty-four members, proceeded to the palace to escort the emperor and empress to the cathedral. Here, on raised dais, thrones had been erected, on both sides

of which were seats for the members of this mushroom monarchy.

The procession which accompanied the royal pair was somewhat in imitation of the order observed at the coronation of Napoleon I. There were sergeants-at-arms and ushers, pages and maids of honor in gorgeous attire, and a master of ceremonies with his suite of attendants. On velvet cushions were borne the apparel in which the imperial couple were to array themselves, and the sceptre, the signet-ring, and the patchwork crowns. At the entrance of the cathedral obsequious bishops received the emperor and empress, and administered to them the holy-water. They were then conducted to the dais and the ceremonies commenced. The regalia were placed on the altar, and high-mass was celebrated, during which Iturbide and his spouse were consecrated with sacred oil, and arrayed in the robes of royalty. The president of congress placed the diadem on the head of the former, who crowned with his own hands the empress. Thereupon they ascended to their thrones; and at the conclusion of the services the presiding bishop exclaimed in a loud voice: "Vivat Imperator in æternum!" the assemblage responding with the cry of "Long live the emperor and empress."

By some writers the coronation of Iturbide has been compared to that of Napoleon I., who, when placing on his brow the iron crown of the Lombard kings, exclaimed in a voice that rolled through the cathedral of Milan: "Dio me la diede; guai a chi la tochera,"—God gives it unto me; woe to him that shall touch it. The comparison is well enough; though it is related that the bauble tottered when first it was placed on the head of Iturbide. "Do not let it fall," exclaimed the bishop with unintentional irony. "It shall not fall; I have it safe," replied the emperor.

CHAPTER XLI.

DETHRONEMENT AND DEATH OF ITURBIDE.

At the conclusion of the coronation ceremonies, Iturbide was escorted to the palace, where largess was distributed among the assembled multitude. For three days festivities were held in celebration of the event; but banquets and merry-making cannot clothe an emperor with majesty. By the high-born he was looked upon with contempt; by the base-born, with suspicion; and by all, the high-sounding titles of his court were regarded with a supercilious smile.

At first there was harmony between the congress and the emperor, but it was short lived; for such were Iturbide's pretensions and impatience of control, that the deputies found it impossible to work in concert with the man who had sworn to obey their decrees.

Among the members of the assembly was Padre Servando Mier, who had taken part in Mina's expedition, and after being banished to Habana and escaping thence, was elected representative for the province of Monterey. An uncompromising radical, and one already noted for his political writings, he immediately began to inveigh against royalty, declaring the coronation a farce, satirizing the empire, and publishing a forcible essay in favor of a republican form of government. Seditious sheets were scattered broadcast, while French works advocating the social principles of Rousseau were printed in Spanish, and though condemned by the clergy, and burned in the plazas, were reissued and widely circulated.

In August 1822, a revolution was planned with a view to declaring Iturbide's election unconstitutional, removing the seat of congress to Tezcuco, and proclaiming a republican government. In this conspiracy a number of military officers and not a few of the representatives were implicated. The

emperor was informed of the plot, and fifteen of the deputies were arrested, among them being Padre Mier. When put on trial, the evidence against them was found to be defective; an attempt at conspiracy was clearly proved, but it could not be fastened on individuals. Nevertheless they were detained in custody, a few only being released at the end of the year, as an act of grace rather than as an admission of their innocence.

After the imprisonment of the deputies, congress became openly defiant, the opposing parties uniting in self-defence. A proposition on the part of the government to establish military tribunals being absolutely rejected, Iturbide held a council, at which it was proposed to reduce the number of deputies to seventy. This was rejected; but in the hope of adjusting differences, the power of veto, as provided in the Spanish constitution, was conceded to the emperor, together with the right of electing the judges of the supreme court. Iturbide required, however, that the veto should be extended to each article of the constitution then being framed, and that he should be authorized to raise and maintain a police force, at the same time insisting on a reduction in the number of deputies. At these preposterous demands, even the strongest conservatives were disgusted, and the emperor's claims were rejected, one and all; whereupon he cut short the dispute by forcibly dissolving the assembly.

To preserve at least the shadow of a legislature, a junta was established consisting of forty-five members, chosen from the more tractable of the former representatives; and in this body was vested the legislative authority until the election of a new congress. The first matter that demanded the attention of the junta was to replenish the imperial exchequer; and on the 5th of November a decree was passed authorizing a forced loan of $2,800,000. The collection of this money would be a slow and difficult process, and meanwhile the treasure lying at Perote and Jalapa, amounting to nearly $1,300,000, the property of private individuals awaiting convoy to Spain, was appropriated by the government.

While these affairs were in progress at the capital, events of no less moment were occurring in Vera Cruz, where the proceedings of Santa Anna were exciting unfavorable comment. The captain-general of the provinces of Vera Cruz, Puebla, and Oajaca had retired on account of failing health, and Brigadier Echávarri had been appointed his successor. It appears that Santa Anna had conceived the design of surprising the fortress of Ulúa, under cover of a feigned surrender of Vera Cruz, and the government, being informed of his plan, ordered Echávarri to support him. The attempt failed, and the latter narrowly escaped being taken prisoner, expressing, in a confidential despatch to the emperor, his suspicion that Santa Anna, who considered himself entitled to the captain-generalcy, had treacherously planned his death or capture. It was decided to remove him from his command, and as caution was necessary to avoid possible mischief, the emperor resolved to manage the affair in person.

Meeting the emperor at Jalapa, according to instructions, Santa Anna was informed that his presence was needed in Mexico, and that he must accompany him on his return to the capital. In answer to his plea of private business and want of funds, Iturbide presented him with $500, and allowed him a few days in which to arrange his affairs, meanwhile handing over the command to his successor. So well had the emperor dissembled, that up to this point the general had no suspicion that he was to be called to account. The intimation of his removal had been attended with the most flattering compliments; and on the 1st of December the pair started for Mexico, where the emperor declared to his companion that fortune awaited him. Before his departure, Santa Anna had been warned of his impending fate; but he was fully a match for Iturbide in the art of dissimulation. For a short distance he accompanied him on his journey with every mark of respect, and then returning to Jalapa, and proceeding thence to Vera Cruz, he placed himself at the head of an infantry regiment of which he was colonel, and declared for a republic, swearing that the plan of Iguala should be held inviolable.

At Puebla Iturbide received intelligence of the revolt, and though he pretended to make light of it, was none the less conscious of its significance. Entering the capital by night, he at once took measures to suppress the movement, declaring Santa Anna a traitor, and depriving him of his military rank, though offering pardon to all of his followers who returned to their allegiance within a specified time. Meanwhile the leader had published in Vera Cruz a plan of the revolution, and joined by Guadalupe Victoria, was organizing his forces, which he called the Army of Liberation.

The insurrection spread rapidly, and at first was attended with success; but at Jalapa, Santa Anna met with a crushing defeat, escaping with only eight dragoons to Puente del Rey, where Victoria was stationed. Believing that all was lost, he proposed to him to embark for the United States on board a vessel which he had kept in readiness for such an emergency. "Go and put Vera Cruz in a state of defence," replied the old revolutionary captain; "you can set sail when they show you my head."

The outbreak at Vera Cruz acted like leaven on the prevailing discontent. Guerrero and Nicolás Bravo proceeded to Chilapa, and thence stirred up rebellion throughout the southern provinces. Armijo was sent against them, and an engagement fought on the heights of Almolonga resulted disastrously for the insurgents. Guerrero was shot through the lungs, and his men supposing him to be killed, fled in disorder from the field, despite Bravo's efforts to rally them. Elsewhere the revolutionists met with repulse, while Santa Anna remained unsupported at Vera Cruz, where he was closely besieged by Echávarri and other imperialist commanders.

In Echávarri the emperor placed the utmost confidence. Although a Spaniard, he was held in great esteem, having been rapidly promoted from the rank of captain in a provincial corps to that of captain-general of three of the wealthiest provinces. But influences were at work of which Iturbide

was entirely unaware; and while the latter was daily expecting to hear that the rebellion had been ended by the capture of Vera Cruz, the members of the masonic order were secretly intriguing with his generals.

Meantime the republican party was rapidly gaining strength, while the monarchists, not wishing to be left behind in the race for power, were beginning to change their tactics. By the Spaniards the author of the plan of Iguala was hated, and by all parties it was agreed that no form of government could be worse than the existing autocracy. Iturbide's downfall was already foreshadowed, and he alone seemed blind to the fact. Though he must have been aware that the masonic lodges were largely composed of military officers who had sworn to uphold the plan of Iguala, it seems never to have entered into his mind that from this quarter would come the fatal blow. Yet so it was. The influence of the order over its military members was uncontrollable, and among those who had been recently admitted into it was Echávarri. Hence his inactivity before Vera Cruz, and the proclamation, on the 1st of February, 1823, of the famous plan of Casa Mata, whereby the army pledged itself to re-establish and support the national assembly, though disclaiming all designs against the person of the emperor.

By this measure the aspect of the revolution was changed, though its object and its character were the same. The republican leaders were confident that in the new congress their own party would predominate, and that its action would be sustained by the army. Everywhere the cause was triumphant. At Puebla the plan of Casa Mata was proclaimed by the provincial deputation, supported by the town council. At San Luis Potosí and Guadalajara the imperialist commanders were compelled to give way to the populace, in order to avoid an uprising. At Cuernavaca, Querétaro, and Guanajuato, the plan was also accepted. Bravo, having recovered from his disaster, had entered the city of Oajaca and there established a governing junta; and now all that was left to Iturbide of his empire was within sight of his palace windows.

When the news of Echávarri's defection became known in the capital, the utmost consternation prevailed among the ranks of the Iturbidists, and the emperor alone presented a bold front, declaring that if it was intended to coerce him, he would prove that the arm which had achieved his country's independence was not yet powerless. Still he took no decisive measures, merely sending commissioners to treat with the insurgent leaders, who were rapidly advancing toward Mexico. On their arrival at Jalapa, a conference was held, and they returned only to report their failure.

The army of liberation then advanced on Puebla, and whether to avoid bloodshed, or because he recognized that the struggle would be hopeless, Iturbide made no effort to oppose it. In truth, it was already too late. In the capital the troops were deserting by battalions, entire corps forming in line and marching out of the city with bands playing and colors flying.

On the night of the 23d of March, two regiments of infantry set out from their barracks, released the prisoners confined in the dungeons of the Inquisition, appointed one of them their chieftain, and raising the cry of liberty and republicanism, marched toward Toluca, shouting as they passed the emperor's residence, "Long live the republic!" On the following day a cavalry regiment deserted, and its example was followed by the grenadiers of the imperial guard.

In order to prevent communication between the insurgent army and the capital, and in the hope of still effecting a reconciliation, Iturbide stationed himself at the head of his few remaining troops, at Iztapaluca, on the Puebla road. Here he consented to the election of a new congress; a dividing line was agreed upon between the imperialist and revolutionary forces, and it was stipulated that both sides should await the inauguration of the assembly and abide by its decision. But by these arrangements the emperor gained no advantage. The insurgents were not in haste; their cause was making rapid headway, and to them delay was actual gain, while to Iturbide it was fatal. And the latter finally became aware that to await the

slow process of convening a new congress would be attended with certain defeat, for it would be composed mainly of deputies hostile to his cause. He therefore issued a decree ordering the congress which he had dissolved by force of arms to reassemble, and on the 7th of March its sessions commenced with only fifty-eight members, some having been released from prison the evening before. When, therefore, the emperor addressed them, explaining his motives and placing himself at their disposal, his remarks were received with coldness and signs of disapprobation.

All now depended on the action of the revolutionary junta at Puebla, and by that body it was resolved not to acknowledge the authority of congress until assurance was given that there would be no interference with its measures. On the following day the troops were put in motion toward the capital; but commissioners being sent to treat with their leaders, it was agreed that the army of liberation should recognize the congress when the number of its members was complete, and should obey it as soon as absolute freedom of action was secured.

When this decision was made known to Iturbide, he gave up the struggle; but still he would make a pretence of consulting merely the interests of his country. On the 19th his abdication, written in his own hand, was read to the assembly by the minister of justice. Since the congress had been acknowledged by the junta at Puebla, and by the troops who had declared for the plan of Casa Mata, he resigned the sceptre which he had assumed only with the greatest unwillingness. He would have taken this step sooner had there been a recognized national assembly. In order to prevent further trouble he would cheerfully submit to banishment, and within a few days would depart for some foreign land. For himself, he had merely to request that the nation would assume the debts which he had been compelled to incur, through refusing to avail himself of the income assigned to him, out of consideration for the necessities of the troops and public officials.

On the following day a more formal abdication was presented to congress. But the members were now in a dilemma; for they could arrive at no decision until a sufficient number of deputies had been mustered to constitute a legal assembly, and meanwhile the revolutionary forces were occupying positions in the neighborhood of the capital. It was at first proposed that the leaders should consent to a conference with Iturbide, in accordance with his own request; but there were few who cared to meet him, and there were many who dreaded the magic influence of his presence. It was then demanded that the emperor should betake himself to one of four cities, of which he was to be allowed a choice, and there await the action of the deputies. At this slight the indignation of the imperialists was fully roused, and for a time it was feared that hostilities would result. Finally it was arranged that the revolutionary forces should enter Mexico, their commanders promising to sustain the measures of congress in regard to the emperor.

Thus all difficulties were removed, and with the accession of the deputies who had hitherto refused to take their seats, a legal national assembly was constituted. The functions of the existing executive were declared to have ceased, and a provisional government consisting of three members was created, the choice falling on Bravo, Negrete, and Victoria.

A few days later the question of Iturbide's abdication was considered. By the commission appointed to report on the matter, it was advised that, since his election had been accomplished by violence, the abdication should not be accepted, for this would imply a right to the crown. It was further recommended that he be conveyed to Italy, and that while he remained in that country, a pension of $25,000 a year should be assigned to him in consideration of his services in the cause of the revolution. After some discussion, many of the deputies being in favor of bringing the emperor to trial, the report was adopted, and a decree was issued to that effect. As a final blow to monarchy, the plan of Iguala and the treaty

of Córdoba were declared null so far as concerned the form of government prescribed therein, and the right of the nation to govern itself was declared beyond dispute.

On the 9th of May the deposed emperor arrived at Vera Cruz, guarded by a strong escort under Nicolás Bravo. Two days later he set sail with his family for Leghorn, whence he issued a manifesto to the Mexican nation, declaring that he had accepted the throne merely to gratify the wishes of the people, and that throughout his brief reign he had been actuated solely by patriotic motives. His residence in Italy was of the briefest. Intelligence from Mexico, or as he asserts, the fear that his native land was threatened by European powers, induced him to leave a country where his freedom of action was restricted, and he resolved to embark for London. Driven back by stress of weather, he made his way overland to Ostend, and thence took ship for England, where he landed on the 1st of January, 1824. During the following month he addressed a letter to the congress, assigning as the reason of his departure from Italy, the intrigues of Spain against Mexico, and once more offering his services. But the government was well informed as to his designs, for his movements had been closely watched, and a decree was passed declaring him an outlaw, and an enemy to the state, if, under any pretext whatever, he should again set foot on Mexican soil.

In May, Iturbide, unaware of this decree, set sail from Southampton, accompanied among others by a Pole named Beneski, who was appointed his aide-de-camp. On the 14th of July his vessel cast anchor off Soto la Marina, and Beneski, who was sent ashore to gather information, called on the comandante Garza, requesting permission for his party to land. So friendly was the reception accorded to him, that the ex-emperor resolved to visit Garza in person, and landing on the following afternoon, accompanied only by his aide-de-camp, took up his quarters for the night at a neighboring rancho. But the strangers had been recognized, and at midnight were roused from their slumbers and placed under arrest by a

party of soldiers sent for the purpose. On the next day the comandante arrived with his escort, and greeted Iturbide most cordially, the pair journeying together toward Soto la Marina, when the latter was told for the first time that he had been proscribed. Nevertheless, he doubted not as yet Garza's protestations of friendship. On the morning of the 17th, however, an aide-de-camp appeared and warned him to prepare for death, as the hour of three o'clock on that very day was appointed for his execution. The announcement was received with perfect composure. "Tell General Garza," he replied, "that I am ready to die, and request only three days in which to make my peace with God."

In truth, Garza's conduct at this juncture was somewhat peculiar, and can only be explained on the supposition that instructions had been issued for the immediate execution of Iturbide, wheresoever he should make his appearance. But to put a man to death by virtue of a decree of which he was not informed until he had made himself liable to its penalties was an inhuman act, and it is probable that the general made some attempt to save the captive's life. Resolving to refer the matter to the state congress of Tamaulipas, he set forth for Padilla, where that body was then in session. Before the members he pleaded in person the cause of the ex-emperor, laying stress on the fact that he had landed in ignorance of the decree which declared him an outlaw. But his efforts were in vain; the prisoner must suffer death, and Garza was ordered to carry the sentence immediately into effect.

With unfaltering step Iturbide proceeded to the place of execution, and in a firm voice addressed a few parting words to the troops: "Mexicans," he said, "in this the last moment of my life, I beseech of you to love your country, and to observe our holy religion. I die for having come to aid you, and I am reconciled to death because I die among you. I am no traitor, and such a stain will never attach to my children or to their descendants. Preserve order and render obedience to your commanders. From the depths of my heart I forgive

all my enemies." When the officer approached to place the bandage over his eyes, he objected, remarking that it was unnecessary, but on being told that the form must be observed, applied it with his own hands. Then he was ordered to kneel, and at the first discharge his body fell lifeless to the ground. On the following day his remains were buried in the churchyard of Padilla, where they remained until 1838, when they were removed by order of congress and interred with solemn obsequies in the cathedral of Mexico.

At the time of his death, Agustin de Iturbide was but forty years of age. His career is before the reader, and from it his character may be determined. Ambitious and designing, plausible and fair-spoken, none knew better how to cloak selfish aspirations in the garb of patriotism. When independence had been achieved, he was lauded by his party as the savior of the nation, and one fitting to be chosen as its leader. Nevertheless, his ability as a statesman was of no high order, and he proved himself unable to give form and cohesion to the disintegrated fragments of a community which might easily have been reconstructed by one whose judgment had not been warped by ambition.

Even for his services in the cause of independence Iturbide has received more credit than he deserves. Enrolled at first in the ranks of the royalists, there he would have remained to the end if he had not been influenced by personal considerations. Though on occasions he displayed sound judgment and consummate skill, his name is not to be mentioned with those of Hidalgo and Morelos, Guerrero and Victoria, Bravo and Mina. The revolution was not, as I have already remarked, the work of an individual; and Iturbide would have failed at the very outset if circumstances had not combined in his favor. In all portions of Mexico revolutionary chieftains supported his cause, and in all the leading provincial capitals independence was consummated without his presence. The inactivity of Apodaca made the rest easy, and finally the liberalism of O'Donoju opened to him the gates of the capital. At best, the

empire was but a brief and pitiful episode in the history of the nation, though one that gave a powerful impulse to the party spirit which for several decades involved the country in the horrors of fratricidal war.

CHAPTER XLII.

THE UNITED STATES OF MEXICO.

After the fall of Iturbide, the congress and provisional government sought to remedy, as far as possible, the evils of the imperial administration. Political prisoners were liberated; the appointments of judges for the supreme court were cancelled; the council of state was suppressed; and every badge and mark of the late empire was abolished. To provide means for current expenses, and for urgent obligations, orders were issued for the sale, at less than usual rates, of all the tobacco and cigars in the government warehouses, and for the disposal of the property of the Jesuits and the Inquisition. A loan was also raised in England, a portion of it being received in the form of clothing, arms, and ships, while with the specie the most pressing demands were met, such as the repayment of forced loans, and of the funds of private individuals appropriated by Iturbide.

Among other matters to which they gave their attention was the selection of a national flag and coat of arms, the latter resembling the one in use among the Aztecs at the date of the Spanish Conquest. The design for the flag consisted of three vertical bars, in green, white, and red, the first representing independence, the second the purity of the Roman Catholic religion, and the third the union of the Spanish element with the Mexican nation.

The reins of power were now in the hands of the republicans, who were divided into two parties, termed federalists and centralists. To the former were attached the partisans of Iturbide, who still hoped for revenge on those who had caused his overthrow. The latter, which was virtually the governing body, consisted principally of members of the masonic order,

and also of those who were in favor of a monarchy, from whom it received the nickname of bourbonists.

In its anxiety to allay the public agitation, congress increased the powers of the provincial deputations, giving them the control of their own revenues, and at the same time declaring its willingness to accept the federal system. But these concessions did not satisfy the demands of the people, and it finally became necessary to convoke a constituent congress, to assemble in Mexico on the 31st of October.

The result was that the freemasons lost their preponderance, while the monarchists were excluded. After installation with befitting ceremonies, the new assembly began its labors on the 7th of November, 1823, endeavoring, in accordance with the expressed desire of the nation, to place the country under the most liberal institutions. Soon afterward the draught of a constitution was prepared, and thereupon the discussion began.

The main point to be considered was contained in the fifth article, which reads: "The nation adopts the republican, federal, popular, representative form of government." Several members spoke against the plan of federation, urging that the proposed measure was but a copy of the constitution of the northern United States, which was unsuited to Mexico. The federation of the provinces, it was declared, would be followed by their disruption, and such a policy would bring upon them the very evils which their northern neighbors had striven to avert. Because the British colonies had united to resist oppression, and had then drawn up an instrument which answered well their purpose, it did not follow that Mexico, after submitting to the yoke of monarchy for more than three centuries, should imitate their example. Nevertheless, article 5 was adopted and solemnly proclaimed, to the delight of some and the disgust of others, for thereon depended the future institutions of the country.

Although the debates on other articles of the constitution were protracted for many months, they contained little of in-

terest until the point arose whether the executive authority should be vested in one person or in three. The final decision was in favor of a single ruler; for it was believed that, under due restraint from the legislature, it would not be in the power of the president to work serious mischief. On the question of territorial division, grave difficulties were caused by the absence of reliable data as to population, resources, and revenue. But the most troublesome point was to determine the quota that each state must contribute for the support of the general government, amounting in all to $3,136,875. In many instances the apportionment was made almost entirely by guesswork, the amounts varying from $975,000 for the state of Mexico to $15,625 for that of Coahuila.

NICOLÁS BRAVO.

At the presidential election, Nicolás Bravo was the nominee of the centralists, and Guadalupe Victoria of the federalists. The choice fell on the latter, while Bravo was elected vice-president, his opponent being Vicente Guerrero. Both were

elected for four years, and under a special decree of congress, entered at once upon their duties, inaugurating without loss of time the new system of governmen

The United States of Mexico was the name adopted by the federal republic, and on the 4th of October, 1824, the constitution was formally published; that day, and the 16th of September when the Cry of Dolores first became the watch-word of freedom, being pronounced the only national anniversaries.

After declaring the absolute independence of the country, and recognizing the states that were to be the component factors in the federation, the organic act of the Mexican republic divides the powers of government into three distinct branches the executive, the legislative, and judicial. The Roman Catholic religion was declared the religion of the nation. A praiseworthy interest is manifested in the welfare of the country, and in the progress of education, science, and commerce. Among other measures may be mentioned those which relate to copyrights, patents, and the freedom of the press; to the abolition of torture, arbitrary imprisonment, and retrospective laws, whereby life, liberty, and property had been placed at the mercy of unscrupulous officials. Many of its provisions produced good results, helping to rouse the people into activity, even during the half-century of strife and confusion to which Mexico was afterward subjected.

The opponents of republicanism, arguing from their own standpoint, have alleged that such a form of government did not accord with the habits and training of a people which for three centuries had been held in leading-strings, subject to the decrees of a distant court, and controlled by officials who had nothing in common with the country. In their estimation, no benefit could be expected from this sudden change, the fact that a change was needed being entirely ignored. The troubles that ensued confirmed these views, and permitted the holders to ascribe to federal rule the disturbances which were really caused by the enemies of such institutions, men who brought them about for their own selfish purposes,

and often forced those who were in power to exceed their authority, in order to save themselves and the people from serious disaster. Such was the origin of nearly all the revolutionary movements that distracted the country, almost from the date when its first constitution was proclaimed.

Under this constitution the following political divisions were declared to be states of the union: Chiapas, Chihuahua, Coahuila and Texas, Durango, Guanajuato, Jalisco, Mexico, Michoacan, Nuevo Leon, Oajaca, Puebla de los Angeles, Querétaro, San Luis Potosí, Sonora and Sinaloa under the title of Estado de Occidente, Tabasco, Tamaulipas, Vera Cruz, Yucatan, and Zacatecas. The two Californias, New Mexico, and Colima were admitted as territories, Tlascala being added to the number by decree of congress dated the 24th of November.

Thus was the republican era established in Mexico. On the 10th of October, 1824, the president delivered his inaugural address, wherein he shows a thorough consciousness of his responsibilities, beseeching the aid of providence, and asking the co-operation of the people, whose prosperity he held dear. Guadalupe Victoria, whose real name was Juan Felix Fernandez,—the former appellation being assumed in honor of the virgin patroness of Mexico, and of a victory gained over the Spaniards,—was a man of remarkable purity of character, honest, unassuming, kind-hearted, and a true lover of freedom. By many his talents have been ignored, and his virtues set down as faults, the forethought and deliberation which marked his career being attributed to indolence and apathy. Because he would not uphold the schemes of those who wished to make him their tool, his errors have been ascribed to malice and his prudence to lack of decision, though in truth he was incapable of selfish ambition, and for the public welfare was ever ready to lay aside his private opinions. Such, indeed, was his neglect of his own personal interests that, after holding the highest offices of state, he died in poverty and was buried at the public expense.

Victoria's administration began under the happiest auspices. The republic was at peace, party violence had been kept under, and every one hoped for the best. The president's authority was disputed by none, and when there was need of funds, bills were drawn on London, where a loan had been negotiated of considerable amount. Soon, however, there were signs of impending trouble.

During the year 1825 certain political clubs were organized under the name and forms of masonic lodges of the York rite, their founder being rector of a parish in Tabasco, and senator of that state. In opposition to them were the Scottish rite lodges, organized between 1813 and 1826, and among their members were Negrete, Echávarri, Guerrero, and many prominent leaders, this party being in favor of restoring the monarchy.

At this date the principal party factions were, therefore, the Yorkinos, liberals or democrats, consisting of the revolutionists, the creoles, and mestizos, with but little education, and without administrative ability, as against the Escoceses, — this being the name given to members of the Scottish lodges, — including the clergy, the royalists, and all who believed in the government of the many by the few. At the elections held toward the end of 1826, the York lodges were victorious in the federal districts, though in Vera Cruz and a few of the less influential states the vote was against them.

The year 1827 was a painful one for Mexico. Among other troubles came news of the suspension of Barclay and Company of London, in whose hands was a balance of $2,250,000 of the recently contracted loan. In November congress authorized the government to borrow $4,000,000, pledging the revenues from customs and tobacco, and an equal sum guaranteed by other assets; but since the appropriations for the following year amounted to more than $15,500,000, a sum largely in excess of the revenue, the interest on the foreign debt was suspended. All these things, of course, favored the designs of the opposition and caused the ministry to become unpopular.

Though the failure of their plans had at first demoralized

the Escoceses, this party made a strenuous effort to recover its influence, proclaiming at Otumba, on the 23d of December, 1827, the plan of Montaño, so called after an obscure lieutenant-colonel of the revolution, though its real leader was Nicolás Bravo, the grand master. The plan embraced four articles: 1. The suppression of secret societies; 2. The dismissal of the cabinet; 3. The dismissal of the American minister; 4. A strict fulfilment of the constitution and laws.

Thus the vice-president of the republic, who had sworn to support the government, placed himself at the head of a faction which demanded the removal of his colleagues and of the representative of a friendly and powerful nation. Establishing his headquarters at Tulancingo, some twenty-five leagues north-east of the capital, Bravo collected a force of 600 men. Here he was attacked by Guerrero at the head of 1,500 troops, and after a feeble resistance, all the principal officers were captured and taken to Mexico for trial. The York lodges, or Yorkino party, and the town council clamored for the execution of the rebels, while in the senate a motion was made for an amnesty. Congress, however, took a middle course, and indeed the only one possible under the circumstances, ordering the expatriation of all the prisoners, though they were afterward permitted to return to their homes.

This disaster not only left the Escoceses powerless, but eventually overthrew the Yorkino party. The latter faction, which now held the control of power, might have done good service to the republic by correcting abuses, introducing improvements, and securing peace and tranquillity; but it consisted mainly of ambitious and unscrupulous men, by whom the national welfare was held in no consideration. Dissensions broke out among them, and soon paved the way for the downfall and extinction of the party.

Victoria's term of office was now drawing to a close, and the most prominent among the candidates for the second presidency were Guerrero and Gomez Pedraza. Both belonged to the same political party; but much dissension arose among

their friends and in congress, while intrigue was freely used by politicians, and calumny and insult by the press. Whichever side might win, a peaceable solution of the contest seemed impossible. Meanwhile, the president kept aloof from these complications, though his ministers favored Pedraza, who was

GOMEZ PEDRAZA.

elected by a majority of eleven out of eighteen state legislatures, while for vice-president the vote was cast in favor of Bustamante.

Anticipating defeat, Guerrero's partisans had organized a revolt at Perote in Vera Cruz, under the leadership of Santa Anna, alleging that Pedraza had used coercion and taken advantage of his position as minister of war to overrule public opinion; and this in the face of an order from the president to avoid even the semblance of force, and of an assurance from the ministry that the troops should not be called out, unless they were needed to preserve liberty of action. The president resolved to uphold the constitution, and was seconded by con-

gress. Santa Anna was ordered to lay down his arms, under penalty of being declared without pale of the law, and sustaining a reverse, fled to Oajaca, where he was closely besieged, being saved only by the outbreak of a revolt in the capital, which made necessary the recall of the troops.

CONVENT OF SANTO DOMINGO.

About the close of November 1828, Guerrero demanded a change of ministry, in order that congress might discuss the question of the presidency with perfect freedom of debate. His supporters occupied the ex-acordada building and the citadel, where, on the morning of the 2d of December, they were attacked by a strong force of federal troops. After a conflict which lasted until the morning of the 4th, the rebels were victorious. Then followed pillage; and the rabble, taking

advantage of the situation, and raising the cry of "Mueran los Españoles!" rushed to the Parian or bazaar, where were the stalls of the Spanish merchants, broke open the doors, and sacked it. In a few hours, property to the value of $2,000,000 was carried away, and more than 1,000 persons were reduced to want. Other buildings were plundered, and in vain did Victoria, going in person to the scene of the tumult, beseech the leaders to stay these outrages. Meantime Pedraza fled secretly to Guadalajara, and soon afterward embarked at Tampico for London, having previously resigned his right to the presidency, while the pretensions of Guerrero were recognized by congress. Thus was the national constitution rent asunder, and the door opened for future disorders.

CHAPTER XLIII.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC AFFAIRS.

BEFORE proceeding further with the internal affairs of Mexico, it will be in place to make brief mention of her foreign relations during the years immediately following the revolution The first diplomatic act of the nation was to recognize the republic of Colombia as a free and independent power. Early in 1823, Central America separated from Mexico, her independence being also acknowledged by congress, and in the same year a treaty of amity, league, and confederation was made with the United States of Colombia.

By treaty of 1828, ratified three years later, the Sabine River was established as the boundary line between Louisiana and the then Mexican state of Texas. In 1831, a treaty of commerce, navigation, and amity was agreed upon between the United States of Mexico and the United States of America. Before that date several matters had been in dispute between the two governments, as the claims of American citizens for robberies committed by Mexicans, the impressment of seamen, and the seizure and confiscation of vessels by Mexican authorities.

At the several congresses convened in Europe to treat of Spanish American affairs, Great Britain had reserved the right to act as best suited her own interests and those of Spain and the United States. Had it not been for the timely and energetic protest of two great powers against interference on the part of some of the Latin nations of Europe, constituting the so-called holy alliance, it is probable that after her successes in Naples, Piedmont, and Spain, France would have attempted to restore in America, as she had already done in the peninsula, the absolute power of Ferdinand VII.

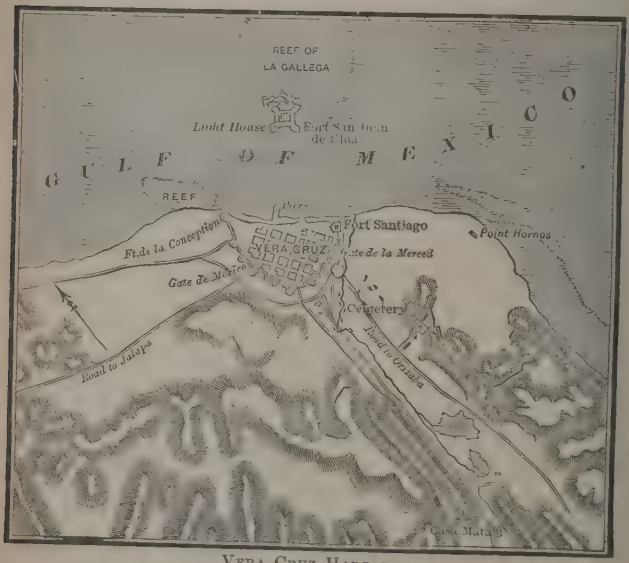
In consequence of the victories won by the Colombians over the Spanish forces in Peru, and of the prospects of a stable peace, English statesmen were of opinion that the time had come for a formal recognition of the Spanish colonies in America. Soon afterward the British court entered into relations of friendship and trade with Mexico, and its diplomatic agent was received with every mark of respect, the Mexican minister in London also meeting with a friendly reception. Treaties of amity, commerce, and navigation were also concluded with several of the European powers.

In November 1825, the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, the only point still left to Spain of all her Mexican possessions, fell into the hands of the republic. For more than two years the fort had maintained a continual and sometimes vigorous bombardment of the city, without other result than destroying a number of buildings, and depriving itself of the supplies which the merchants of Vera Cruz had been accustomed to furnish for the support of the garrison.

A little before this date a number of armed vessels, purchased in England and commanded by British and American officers, arrived in the harbor of Vera Cruz, and in co-operation with them was a squadron of gun-boats. A strict blockade was maintained, all communication between the fort and the shore being cut off; food became scarce; the men were stricken with disease, and soon it became apparent that the stronghold was doomed. A Spanish fleet arrived from Cuba with re-enforcement and supplies; but its commander did not venture to attack the blockading squadron, and returned to Habana. A few days later a capitulation was signed, whereby the garrison was accorded the honors of war, and was conveyed to Cuba at the expense of the Mexican government, after surrendering all its artillery, small-arms, and ammunition. The news of this success was received with joy throughout the nation; the officers, soldiers, and sailors were liberally rewarded, and the Spanish flag, which for more than two cen-

turies had waived over the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa, was deposited in the sanctuary of the Virgin of Guadalupe.

The capture of this stronghold did not, however, put an end to the strife between the republic and the mother country. In December a Mexican squadron, consisting of one frigate



VERA CRUZ HARBOR.

and four brigs, under the command of Commodore David Porter, sailed from Vera Cruz for the coast of Cuba, where richly laden merchant ships were captured. With a view further to injure Spanish commerce, already sorely harassed by Colombian privateers, Porter issued letters of marque, and cruised off the coasts of Spain, causing damage to several of the enemy's vessels. In retaliation, men-of-war were despatched to the gulf of Mexico, and on the 11th of February, 1828, an action was fought between the frigate *Lealtad* of 50 guns and

the Mexican brig *Guerrero* of 22 guns. the latter being captured after a running fight in which her captain was slain and most of the crew were killed or wounded.

In July 1829, an expedition sailed from Habana under Brigadier Barradas, its avowed purpose being the reconquest of Mexico. The entire force mustered about 3,000 men, and the fleet, under Rear-Admiral Laborde, consisted of five vessels of war and fifteen transports, among the latter being the American ship *Bingham*, which was cast ashore on the coast of Louisiana, none of those on board taking part in the campaign.

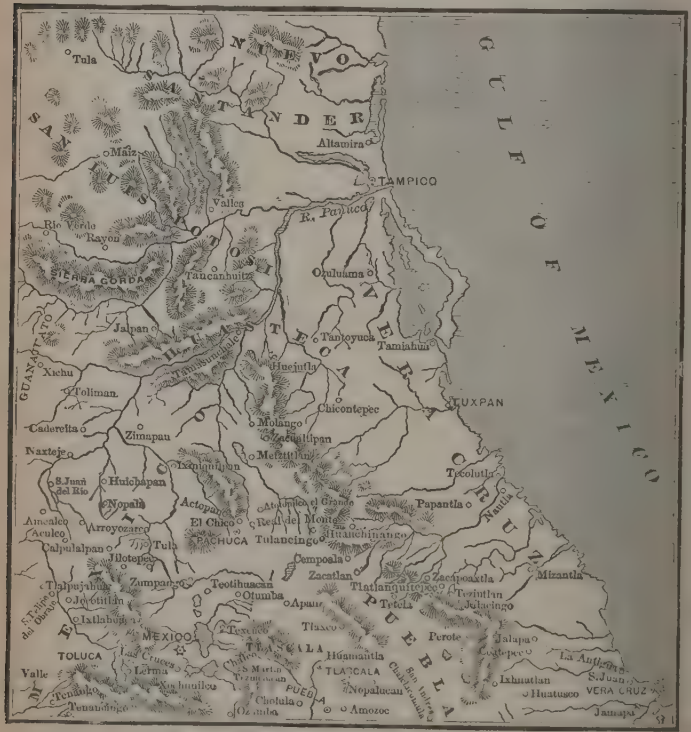
The first tidings of the coming invasion were brought to Vera Cruz by a French frigate, whose commander, however, could not inform the authorities as to its exact destination. Thereupon Santa Anna, then governor and commander of the forces, borrowed a small sum of money, and mustered out the militia, purposing to attack the invaders. On the 26th of July the Spanish commander, who was then off Punta de Jerez, sent on shore proclamations which showed that he expected the royalists to join his standard.

On the following day a landing was effected, and soon afterward Barradas put his forces in motion toward Tampico, reaching that city on the 18th of August and finding it deserted.

Meanwhile great was the alarm in the capital; for it was believed that this was but the advanced guard of a larger body. The president collected an army of reserve to occupy positions in Jalapa, Córdoba, and Orizaba; another division was organized in the south, and in Tamaulipas Garza mustered a force of regulars and militia, sending word to Teran, who was then inspecting the boundary line between Texas and the United States, to return at once and aid in the defence.

On learning where the Spaniards were, Santa Anna embarked about 1,000 men, who. with the cavalry despatched by land, formed a total of about 2,000 under his own direction,

the government having appointed him commander-in-chief. Without entering into the details of their operations, it need only be mentioned, that after several bloody encounters Santa



EASTERN DISTRICT. BARRADAS' CAMPAIGN.

Anna and Teran forced the remnant of Barradas' command to capitulate, though not without heavy casualties on both sides. Thus terminated this futile attempt to reconquer Mexico, which ended only in a considerable loss of life and the expenditure

of more than $1,150,000. The result was somewhat in contrast with the expedition of Cortés; but at this date such men as Cortés and his veterans were not very numerous.

On the 1st of April, 1829, Guerrero was duly installed in office, and at once published a manifesto, in which was outlined his future policy. Of the president's biography some portions have already been related. A native of Tixtla, then within the intendencia of Mexico, his parents belonged to the race then included in the term *castas*, one to which neither civil nor political rights were accorded, and forever prevented by law, custom, and prejudice from rising above its lowly condition. To this fact should be mainly ascribed Guerrero's defects, which have been pitilessly exaggerated by the very men who should have commended his fortitude, his services, and his personal merits. Of his military career it is unnecessary to make further mention. Suffice it to say, that although until about the year 1814 he was a subordinate officer in the revolutionary ranks, he had already made his mark as a soldier while fighting under the banner of Morelos.

Though none who knew Guerrero could fail to recognize his sound judgment and common sense, he never appeared fully to realize the conditions of his high position, its duties, its perils, and its privileges. While in the presidential chair, he lacked the firmness and constancy which should have been imparted by a sense of the justice and expediency of his measures, and he possessed neither the foresight needed to prevent the outbreak of sedition nor the vigor to repress it. Yet he could not be accused of imbecility or littleness of soul: and in questions of moment, when once his judgment was formed, he was firm, persevering, and on occasions obstinate. Among his political principles were opposition to monarchical rule, and a profound respect for the federal system and the representation of the people. None but those who favored these principles were deemed worthy of his confidence; and this accounts for the intense antipathy of those who differed

from him in opinion, and also for his bitter hostility toward his opponents, most of whom were under the control of the clergy.

Among the most important measures of Guerrero's administration was the abolition of slavery, although this institution had already been reduced to narrow limits, the few remaining bondsmen being employed as domestic servants, and treated no longer as human chattels, but as members of the family. The decree for their liberation was proclaimed on the 16th of September, 1829, and the law met with no demur except in Coahuila and Texas, where there were about 1,000 slaves whose manumission would have been a costly measure, as they were held in high valuation. It would appear, however, that the act was not strictly enforced; for in April 1837 another decree was passed, granting freedom to all bondsmen without exception, and allowing compensation to their proprietors.

During the Spanish invasion the president was invested with the powers of a dictator, and though never abused, these privileges brought on him and certain of his colleagues the hatred of the people. Soon afterward a coalition of states was formed to oppose his administration, and thenceforth they began to ignore the authority of the federal executive, virtually exercising a veto power which suspended the execution of its measures. At this crisis, when energetic measures, tempered with prudence, were absolutely needed, Guerrero vacillated. His motives were good, but his action was weak, and he sought for allies among his opponents in order to secure protection for the cabinet, and, as he hoped, for the country. His efforts were in vain, however, for on the 4th of December, 1829, Bustamante, then commander of the largest military division in Mexico, proclaimed a plan subversive of the government, under the pretence of restoring order and enforcing observance of the laws, which, as he declared, had been infringed by the executive. Thus for the second time a vice-president headed a faction against his own colleagues, declaring their acts unconstitutional.

At first Guerrero was overwhelmed at the tidings of this defection. He appealed to his ministry for assistance, but there were none to aid or advise him. For a time he recovered a portion of his old spirit, and resolved to place himself at the head of such troops as had remained faithful to him amid the general desertion. At the head of some 2,000 men he set out toward Ayacapiztla; but while on the march, an uprising occurred in the capital, and the insurgents gained possession of the palace and citadel. This disaster completely unmanned him. Leaving his camp without apprising his officers or men, he took the road toward the south, and after crossing the Mescala River believed himself to be in safety. For a time he remained with his family at his estate near Tixtla, but left it on receiving news from Mexico that six cutthroats had been liberated from jail on condition that they would attempt his assassination.

Before the end of 1829 all the states, with the exception of Vera Cruz, had accepted Bustamante's plan. The legislature of that state conferred on Santa Anna the civil and military control, and on the 17th of December a manifesto was issued, in which he declared his intention to defend the established government, Guerrero having been recognized as the chief magistrate of the nation when Pedraza had renounced his claim to the presidency. His intention was to march against the capital and overthrow the new government, but he was deserted by his troops, the very men who had fought under him against the Spaniards. Thereupon commissioners were despatched from Mexico to confer with him, the result being that Santa Anna abandoned his purpose, and proclaimed that since Guerrero had forsaken his post, he would thenceforth recognize the lawful authority of Bustamante.

Anastasio Bustamante y Oseguera was a native of Jiquilpan in the province of Michoacan. When fifteen years of age he entered the seminary of Guadalajara, where his ability, application, and generous disposition won for him the regard of his teachers and classmates. In 1808 he received a commission

in a battalion composed of young men belonging to the leading families in San Luis Potosí. After long service in the ranks of the royalists, and subsequently under the banner of Iturbide, he was appointed, during Victoria's administration, general of division. A man of remarkable courage and presence of mind, he was somewhat lacking in judgment, and yielded too readily to the opinions of his advisers. During his public career, however, he displayed the qualities of a true patriot, and was ever on the side of progress and reform.

On the 1st of January, 1830, Bustamante assumed the executive power, and on the 4th issued a proclamation in which he described, from the standpoint of his party, the political condition of the country, accusing the former government of abuses of power and misappropriation of the public funds. He then submitted his conduct to the decision of congress and the people.

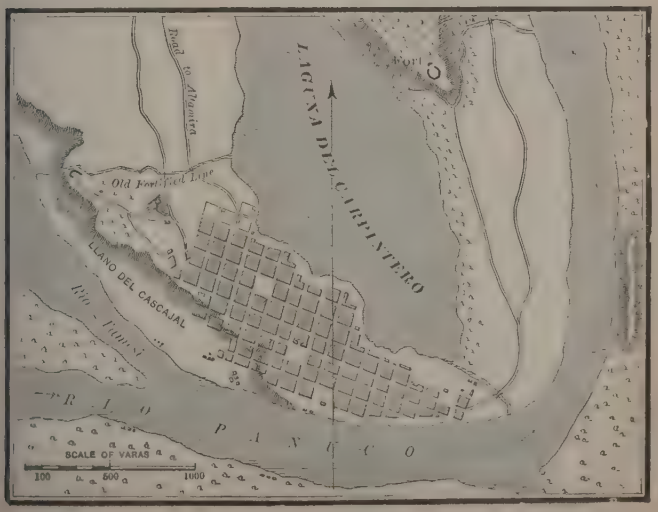
The question now arose, What was to be done with Guerrero? His election could not be declared illegal, for such a declaration would also disqualify Bustamante. In congress a motion was made to declare him morally incapable, and after a warm discussion it was declared that the man whose services had won for him the title of "benefactor of his country," and whom the national assembly had appointed but one year ago to the chief magistracy, was unfitted to govern the republic.

This decree met with considerable opposition in the southern provinces, where Juan Álvarez raised the standard of revolt, and the new government was forced to meet its opponents on their own ground. Armijo, who commanded the forces sent against them, was slain in a hard-fought battle near Texca; but on the 2d of January, 1831, the combined forces of Guerrero and Álvarez were routed near Chilpancingo by a better organized army under Nicolás Bravo. The ex-president then retired to Acapulco, which had been captured by Álvarez in March of the previous year, paying no heed to warnings that the government was planning his destruction.

Invited to breakfast on board a ship about to sail for Gua-

tulco, Guerrero remained on the vessel until the mouth of the harbor was reached, having a boat in tow to convey him back to shore. But while in the act of bidding adieu to his host, he was seized and bound by the crew, together with those who accompanied him. From Guatulco he was taken to Oajaca, where he was placed on trial and condemned to death, among the charges brought against him being that he had personally directed the revolution of the Acordada, and that, disregarding all overtures for peace, he had placed himself at the head of the rebel forces at Chilpancingo. On the 14th of February, Guerrero was conducted to the place of execution, and when placed in front of the firing platoons, was compelled to listen on bended knee to the sentence of the court.

It is a somewhat remarkable coincidence that Iturbide and Guerrero, men who though differing essentially in their views had made common cause in order to secure their country's freedom, both met their death at the hands of the same political party.



PLAN OF TAMPICO.

CHAPTER XLIV.

POLITICS AND THE PASTRY WAR.

To mention in detail, or even to mention at all, the numberless revolutions and counter-revolutions which for several decades distracted the republic of Mexico, would be but a tiresome and fruitless task. Having now presented to the reader the leading incidents which marked the early career of the nation, I shall touch more briefly on the less interesting portions of the remaining period.

In his address to the legislature, at the opening of the year 1832, Bustamante complimented the members on the progress of the republic, remarking that the animosity of political parties had wellnigh disappeared. But while receiving from his followers the most flattering manifestations of their loyalty, news was received of an uprising at Vera Cruz, where the garrison had issued a pronunciamiento, or revolutionary proclamation, demanding the dismissal of the ministers. Santa Anna was urged to put himself at the head of the movement, and accepted the position, at the same time addressing a letter to Bustamante, in which he tendered his services as mediator, hoping thus to avoid an outbreak of hostilities.

The ministry resolved to use all its resources to crush this outbreak; but at first peaceable measures were employed, commissioners being sent to induce Santa Anna to abandon all connection with the revolt. Nothing was accomplished, however, and there was no recourse but an appeal to arms. At first the insurgents were partially successful, but on the 3d of March suffered a disastrous defeat, and were soon afterward besieged in Vera Cruz by a strong force under General Calderon. After losing 1,000 of his men, the latter was compelled to raise the siege, and retire to Jalapa, leaving 800 men under Rincon to watch the movements of Santa Anna.

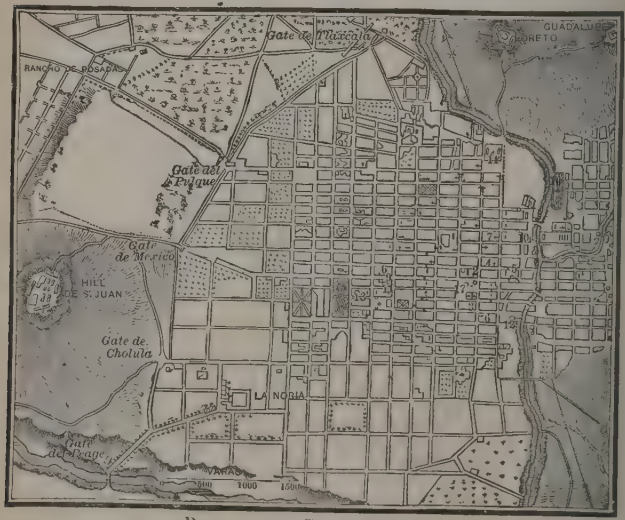
Meanwhile the standard of revolt had been raised in Tamaulipas, where Teran marched against the rebels, but sustained a crushing defeat at Tampico, which caused him such grief of mind that his reason became unseated, and he committed suicide. Soon afterward the movement spread to San Luis Potosí, Zacatecas, and Jalisco; and at length, in the hope of checking its further progress, the ministry resigned. But it was now too late, and a measure which a few months before would have put an end to the revolt was without effect.

On the 7th of August, the deputies, voting by states, elected General Melchor Muzquiz president ad interim, Bustamante retaining his position as vice-president. About a month before this date, however, a pronunciamiento had been issued at Vera Cruz in favor of proclaiming Pedraza as the lawful ruler of the republic.

At the head of 4,000 men, Bustamante set forth for San Miguel el Grande, since called Allende, where the enemy occupied several important positions, and afterward took possession of the town of Dolores. The insurgents, under Moctezuma, marched against him with superior numbers, and on the 18th of September a decisive action was fought. Moctezuma arranged his troops so as to attack the foe on both flanks at the same moment; but finally massed his entire force against Bustamante's left, exposing his columns to the fire of the opposing batteries, and of some battalions stationed under cover of a neighboring hill. The result was, that the assailants were driven back on their reserves, and again advancing to the attack, were outflanked; whereupon a total rout ensued, the fugitives being cut down without mercy by the pursuing cavalry.

Affairs in Vera Cruz were at this juncture assuming a most unfavorable aspect for the government. At the beginning of October its troops were defeated with heavy loss by Santa Anna, who marched on Puebla, capturing that city almost without resistance. The revolutionists then advanced on the capital, which before the end of the month was completely in-

rested. The advance of Bustamante's army on Puebla made t necessary to raise the siege, and in the neighborhood of the latter city several engagements took place, resulting for the most part in disaster to the forces of the government.



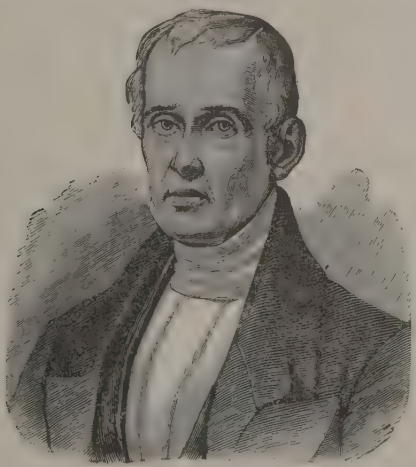
PLAN OF THE CITY OF PUEBLA.

1. Cathedral.
2. Palace.
3. Episcopal Palace.
4, 5, 6, 7. Hospitals and Asylums.
8. Academy of Fine Arts.
9. Presidio.
10, 11. Theatres.
12, 13. Bull-rings.
14. Barrack.
15, 16. Parks.
17. Main Plaza.

Elsewhere the government met with reverses; and it may be said that their control of affairs was already at an end. Finally, negotiations were opened and an armistice agreed upon, but the terms proposed were not accepted by congress; whereupon Bustamante resolved to act on his own responsibility. A treaty was framed and ratified to the satisfaction of the contracting parties, one of its articles recognizing Gomez Pedraza as president for the remaining portion of his term.

The garrison of Mexico also declared in his favor, and Muzquiz and his ministers retired into private life without even the formality of a resignation.

During the war of Independence, Pedraza had served in the ranks of the royalists, and the capture of Morelos was in a measure brought about by his advice. Though a strict republican, he rendered good service to Iturbide, and during the administration of Victoria was appointed minister of war.



VALENTIN GOMEZ FARÍAS.

While some of the measures of the new government were well considered, others showed a spirit of vindictiveness, especially those directed against the former ministers of Bustamante's cabinet and against the Spaniards, most of whom had latterly been permitted to live in peace. The privileges of the clergy and army were also assailed, since it was believed that the destruction of their influence would tend to secure the permanency of free institutions. The policy of the administration caused much alarm and turmoil in the capital, in the midst of which Pedraza, his term of office having expired,

surrendered the executive authority to Valentin Gomez Farías, the vice-president elect.

Farías, the champion of reform in Mexico, was a native of Guadalajara, where he graduated as a physician, and afterward obtained a considerable practice, from which he accumulated a competency. A democrat at heart, and ever on the side of progress, he was unfortunately of too impatient a disposition to allow time for progress to become steadily developed. He was entirely indifferent to wealth and honors, always eager to serve his country, and for his reward sought only the good-will of his fellow-citizens. His term of office was of brief duration, though fraught with peril and pregnant with important events.

The privileged classes received many hard blows at the hands of Farías, who maintained that the civil authority should ever be above that of the military, and endeavored to prevent interference on the part of the clergy in secular affairs. The reform measures about to be introduced, affecting as they did the two most powerful classes in the commonwealth, produced the utmost agitation. At this crisis, Santa Anna, who had been quietly watching the progress of events, was invited to become the leader of the reactionary movement directed against the policy of Farías. Proceeding to the capital, he removed the latter from office, and assumed for himself the presidency, having previously been proclaimed dictator by the army.

Farías was blamed by the liberal party for his want of spirit on this occasion. He had been intrusted with the task of abolishing certain traditional institutions, and it was declared that he should have fulfilled his duty in the face of all opposition. Congress and the militia would have supported him; and as he had evidence in his possession that Santa Anna was plotting against the liberties of the country, he should have placed him under arrest. It must be admitted that by his present course he had allowed the powers of the army and the clergy to be restored; and yet it is probable that his inaction

was caused merely by the dislike of being suspected of personal ambition, and of being accused of unconstitutional measures.

Antonio Lopez de Santa Anna was a native of Jalapa, in the state of Vera Cruz, where for many years his father had held office as subdelegate. When fifteen years of age he adopted the military profession, entering the service as a cadet, and for

SANTA ANNA.

his services during the Spanish invasion was promoted to the rank of general of division. Trained during the eventful days of the revolution, and of the transition period which preceded the republican era, he became a master of intrigue, in which he was naturally an adept. As a soldier, he was at once bold and cautious, providing for defeat while striving for victory. An excellent judge of character, he knew exactly how to in-

fluence those around him as best suited his purpose, being at times courteous and suave in manner, and again haughty and insolent. He loved to see his country prosper, so long as her prosperity was caused by himself; but he was in no sense either a patriot or a reformer; nor was he even capable of deep convictions in political affairs. Principles and men he regarded only as ministers to his greed and ambition, which ranged from the loftiest heights to depths the most base and sordid. These very extremes, the versatility of his character, and even the viler traits in his disposition, tinged as they were with some gleams of a better nature, and all mingled with boundless self-confidence and daring, sufficed to stamp him as a genius. As such at least he was regarded by the widely different parties, which, though hating and distrusting him, were compelled to appeal to him for aid; for while by no means a natural ruler of men, he was a cunning manipulator of events.

At first Santa Anna displayed a disposition to please all parties, but finally leaned to the side of the reactionists, and by a coup d'état dissolved the national congress and the state legislatures, deposing the governors and town councils, and replacing them with adherents of his own. Although another assembly was convoked toward the close of 1834, its measures failed to reconstruct the institutions of the country on a solid basis. Soon afterward the dictator tendered his resignation of the presidency, and though it was not accepted, he retired to his estate in the province of Vera Cruz, General Barragan being placed in charge of the executive. It was believed, however, that all the more important acts of his administration first received the sanction of the dictator.

On the 30th of December, 1836, congress, acting as a constituent assembly, framed a new constitution, which, being composed of seven laws, became popularly known under the title of the Siete Leyes. Thereby the states were to be reduced to departments, ruled by magistrates subject to the general government at Mexico, and holding office for eight years. The number of deputies was to be reduced, and both

members and electors were made subject to a property qualification.

The first president under this new constitution was Anastasio Bustamante, though the choice would doubtless have fallen on Santa Anna but for his disastrous campaign in Texas, of which mention will be made later. From the outset the chief magistrate was confronted with obstacles, which clearly indicated that to sustain himself in office would be no easy task. His inaugural address, promising to pursue an enlightened policy, to promote the well-being of the people as the source of all political power, and to provide for the administration of justice without fear or favor, was received by the nation with indifference. Acts and not theories were wanted, and intense disgust was caused by his selection of the members of his cabinet, most of whom belonged to the ranks of the aristocracy.

The political parties hitherto existing under the names of yorkinos, escoceses, liberals, progressionists, and reactionists were now organized into two divisions, known as federalists and centralists, the latter being strongest in the capitals of the several departments where the army and clergy were most influential. Restricted as the president was in proposing measures to congress, or returning for reconsideration such as had been enacted, he seemed to be guided by no well-defined policy, and this at a time when there was urgent need of prompt and vigorous action. The national treasury was empty, and there were no means of replenishing it, or even of procuring funds to meet the most pressing demands. Direct taxation was attempted, but met with determined opposition, for already private property was sorely encumbered, the only estates that were not heavily mortgaged being those of the church.

Soon after the inauguration of the new government, news was received that the court of Spain had formally recognized the independence of Mexico. A treaty was ratified between the two nations, whereby the latter agreed to forbid the fitting out of expeditions directed against the Spanish possessions in

the New World, and at the close of 1839 the first Spanish plenipotentiary accredited to the Mexican government arrived at Vera Cruz.

With other countries, however, the relations of Mexico at this period were less satisfactory. In consequence of the numerous pronunciamientos with their attendant outbreaks, foreigners had suffered in common with the natives, both in person and property; but with this difference, that while the latter sought in vain for relief at the hands of their government, the former could invoke the aid of ministers and consuls to demand redress. If the diplomatic agent represented a powerful nation, he was usually met with a profusion of promises, and sometimes obtained a formal assignment of compensation, though often thwarted by change of rulers and an empty exchequer.

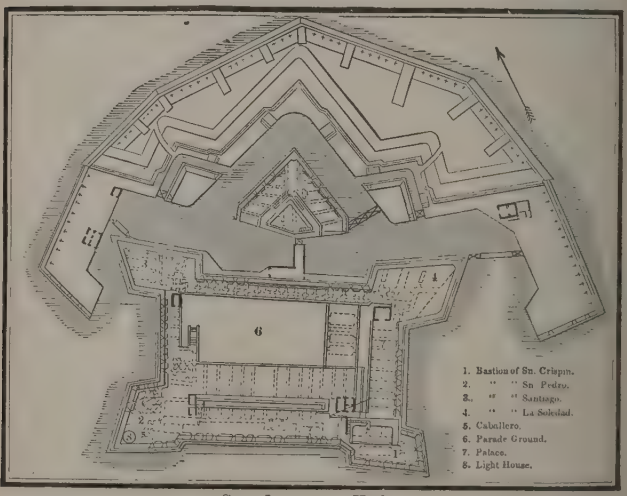
Prominent among the claimants was a number of Frenchmen, who sought compensation for losses sustained during the sacking of the Parian in 1828, among them being a baker, whose pastry had been stolen by the mob, whence these demands were ridiculed by the Mexicans as the pastry claims. Seeing that no attempt was made even to inquire into these matters, the French ambassador withdrew in January 1838, leaving the legation in the hands of a chargé d'affaires, and while sailing out of the harbor of Vera Cruz, received despatches confirming his action, and recommending that the French residents be instructed to make an inventory of their effects. The significance of these proceedings could not be misunderstood, and was placed beyond all doubt by the arrival, in March, of a French squadron under Admiral Bazoche. On board one of the vessels the ambassador dictated an ultimatum, demanding the payment, on or before the 15th of April, of $600,000 in settlement of the claims, together with the removal of certain officials, the protection of French residents, and their exemption from forced contributions. The president replied that national honor forbade any favorable consideration of the terms proposed until the squadron was

withdrawn. Thereupon Bazoche declared all diplomatic relations suspended, and placed the gulf ports under blockade, stating, however, that the latter measure was directed, not against the people, but against their rulers.

As no effect was produced by the blockade, the French government resolved to bring matters to a crisis, and Rear-Admiral Baudin was despatched to Vera Cruz with an additional squadron, and with instructions to settle the dispute, peaceably or by force. In November a conference was held at Jalapa, but without result, and on the 21st Baudin left that city, declaring that hostilities would commence, unless his terms were accepted before noon on the 27th. The congress declared unanimously in favor of resistance, believing that their Gibraltar — for so they termed the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa — would defy all the operations of the fleet. The president also issued one of his most florid proclamations, proposing to lay down his life rather than submit to the humiliation of his country. It would have been more to the purpose if he had proposed some effectual measures for defence.

Meanwhile the French had not been idle. The anchorage-ground in the neighborhood of the fort had been carefully examined, and observations taken, with a view to open a cannonade at different points. The fortress covered the whole extent of a coral islet, situated about half a mile north-east of Vera Cruz, and forming the principal shelter of the harbor in that direction. The walls rose from the sea in the shape of an irregular parallelogram, with bastions at each angle. At the south-west and south-east corners were a lighthouse of brick and a square white tower, named the Caballero, the latter being 90 feet in length, and surmounted by a belvedere whence ships were signalled. The entire structure had an imposing appearance, but except on the side facing the harbor, was built of soft madrepore, and was almost without casemates for the protection of the gunners. The garrison mustered about 1,200 troops, under the command of General Gaona; while the French fleet, including transports, consisted of 26 vessels, on board of which were 4,000 men.

At half-past two on the afternoon of the 27th the bombardment commenced with a perfect hail of balls and bombs, the former penetrating twelve inches or more into the soft coral walls, and as they exploded, rending them from top to base. The garri-



SAN JUAN DEL ULÚA.

son responded with spirit, and over the gleaming waters rolled the thunder of two hundred cannon, the dense smoke shrouding for a time both batteries and ships. But the Mexicans were entirely overmatched in artillery, while the powder was of such inferior quality that most of the missiles fell short of the enemy's vessels. Gun after gun was silenced, while shot and shell wrought havoc within the batteries, now among the infantry, ranged within the curtains in case of an assault, and now among the handful of artillerists. At first the gaps in the ranks of the latter were filled; but soon no substitutes could be obtained, and at frequent intervals the firing was stopped for want of men.

An hour after the action began, a bomb struck the magazine of the San Miguel battery, which exploded with a terrific de-

tonation, belching forth flames, and scattering war material and human remains torn into a thousand fragments. Soon afterward the belvedere of the Caballero was blown into the air, with its load of soldiers, though the flag which had waived above it remained intact, fluttering defiance to the foe, and inciting the garrison to renewed efforts. But what availed courage when hands were lacking to wield the enginery of war? Gradually the firing ceased, and before six o'clock nearly all the exterior fortifications had been abandoned, while the interior lines responded feebly, and with an occasional effort, like the gasp of the dying. Most of the ammunition had been expended or destroyed; more than 200 men had been killed or disabled, and the fortress could no longer be defended. It was now sunset, and soon the gathering gloom interposed between the combatants. The bombardment ceased, and only at intervals for another hour a bomb came crashing in upon the scene of desolation.

Before daybreak on the 28th, Santa Anna inspected the fort by order of General Rincon, the commander-in-chief. A single glance convinced him that to prolong the defence would entail merely a further sacrifice of life, and at a council over which he presided, it was resolved to capitulate. Thus fell the Gibraltar of Mexico, after a brief but resolute defence, the French taking possession within twenty-four hours after the first shot was fired, though promising to restore the fortress as soon as all differences were adjusted.

In Mexico, the news of this defeat was received with the cry of treason, and the government found it necessary to ignore the capitulation and issue a declaration of war. It was ordered that the regular army should be increased to 33,000 men, and that volunteers should be enrolled, while re-enforcements were despatched to Vera Cruz, where Santa Anna was appointed to succeed Rincon as commander-in-chief. When Baudin was informed of these measures he simply expressed his regret, declaring that he could raze the city to the ground within a few hours, but had no desire to

retaliate on the inhabitants for the misdeeds of their government. At the same time he resolved to strike a decisive blow at the enemy before their preparations were completed.

At daybreak on the 5th of December three French divisions entered Vera Cruz, two of them being ordered to carry the forts of Santiago and Concepcion, which guarded the city on

VERA CRUZ.

the east and west, while the third, under Prince de Joinville, was to attempt the capture of Santa Anna and Arista, the second in command. Under cover of a dense fog, the two forts were surprised and captured almost without resistance, while Joinville, landing on the quay in front of the principal gate, broke it open with a petard, and secured the cannon which defended the entrance. Aroused from his slumbers by the report, Santa Anna rushed half clad from his quarters and made good his escape; but not so Arista, who was found asleep in his room. The column then attacked the barracks of La Merced, where the Mexicans offered a stout resistance, and Baudin coming up at this moment ordered a retreat, declaring that he had no intention of holding possession of the town.

Meanwhile Santa Anna had kept himself aloof at a safe distance, collecting such forces as he could muster, and awaiting the arrival of Arista's command. Learning, however, of the retrograde movement of the French, he resolved to take on himself the credit of their repulse, and at once set out in pursuit. Reaching the shore when all had embarked with the exception of the rear-guard, he led his men valiantly to the charge, but was received with a round of grape, which killed or wounded a number of his troops, their commander being hit in the left leg, and his horse shot under him. A few volleys were exchanged before the enemy's boats were shrouded in the mist, and as soon as it cleared away Baudin retaliated by shelling the barracks; whereupon the inhabitants fled, and the soldiery withdrew out of range, carrying with them their wounded general.

The commander-in-chief had allowed himself to be surprised; he had remained carefully in the background during the fight, and had finally evacuated the city. Nevertheless, he hoped that with a little bombast the masses could be hoodwinked into the belief that he had won a glorious victory, and would regard him as a martyred hero bleeding for his country. In order to deepen the impression, he issued a manifesto, as from his death-bed, relating how he had driven the enemy into the sea, with losses far exceeding his own. "Cast aside discord," he wrote, "and unite against the French. As for me, forgive my political errors, and deny me not the only title which I desire to transmit to my children,—that of a true Mexican." The farce succeeded, and for a time the absorbing topic of conversation throughout the country was the patriotism and self-devotion of Santa Anna.

After the first flush of resentment, the Mexicans began to realize that nothing could be gained by prolonging the struggle, while the French were also desirous of bringing the matter to an issue, especially as a British fleet, much stronger than their own, was now anchored in front of the city. A conference was held, and on the 9th of March, 1839, a treaty and convention

were signed, whereby the Mexican government promised to pay the sum of $600,000 in settlement of all claims, and to accord to French citizens the same privileges as were enjoyed by those of other nationalities. A month later the fortress of San Juan de Ulúa was surrendered; the hostile fleet set sail from Vera Cruz, having on board a few old pieces of cannon as trophies; and thus ended the so-called Pastry War.

CHAPTER XLV.

MISRULE AND OVERTHROW OF SANTA ANNA.

WHILE the dispute with France was in progress, and for some time afterward, pronunciamientos were issued by the federalists in various portions of the country, among the more serious movements being the one in Yucatan, which province for a time maintained its independence.

Before daybreak on the morning of the 15th of July, 1840, a party of insurgents released the federalist general, Urrea, who had been imprisoned in the inquisition building of the capital. At the head of a handful of men, this chieftain silently entered the palace and surprised the garrison, most of whom were asleep. At the noise made when capturing the guard near the president's apartment, Bustamante awoke, and as General Urrea entered his room he grasped his sword. "Fear not, general, I am Urrea," said the leader, and informed him of the situation. The president then was assured that his person would be respected; but he must remain a prisoner in his rooms. Several of the prominent centralists were also secured; but the minister of war escaped to the citadel, and there made preparations for suppressing the revolt, summoning to his aid all the reliable troops in the capital.

Gomez Farías had been invited by the insurgents to accept the presidency, and followed by a vast multitude, amid cries of 'Viva la federacion!' proceeded to the palace, which had been selected as the headquarters of the insurgents. Messengers were sent in various directions to obtain re-enforcements, but ere they could arrive the government troops under General Valencia had been largely increased, among those who

came to their support being the alumni of the military college. The centralists took up their position near the main plaza, where the enemy had occupied all the prominent buildings, posting men on the roofs, in the towers of the cathedral, and at the main avenues of approach. Throughout the entire afternoon skirmishing was maintained, at times with heavy firing, directed against the palace. As the captive president was seated at dinner a cannon-ball crashed through the room, covering the table with dust and débris. Without betraying the least emotion, he continued his repast, quietly remarking: "I wager our friends do not suppose that we are calmly enjoying our meal."

On the following day hostilities were resumed. The insurgents had obtained possession of the treasury, and made use of its funds to gain over adherents; but the government forces were in greater strength than had been anticipated, and the former perceived that they were overmatched. It was therefore determined to release the president and try the effect of negotiation; but the proposals made by Urrea were not accepted, and the fight was renewed, causing much suffering among the inhabitants, most of whom fled from their homes. For twelve days the revolt continued, and many of the buildings in the plaza and elsewhere in the city fell in ruins; the palace was disfigured, and its rich furniture, and even the archives, had been piled together to serve as barricades. Meanwhile, further re-enforcements had been received by the government, and larger bodies were approaching under Santa Anna and other generals, while the number and resources of the federalists were rapidly decreasing.

The struggle was hopeless, and to continue it might be fatal. Negotiations were therefore resumed, and most favorable terms were accorded, the federalists being pardoned and allowed to remain in undisturbed possession of their property and honors. On the following day the church bells rang forth a joyous peal in honor of the occasion, and then tolled a requiem for the dead, among whom were hundreds of inoffensive citizens.

The truce thus concluded between the two parties was, however, of brief duration; for the revolutionary leaven had so far permeated all classes of society that no long interval of peace was possible. On the 8th of August, 1841, Paredes, the comandante general of Jalisco, issued a manifesto, appealing to the nation against a government which had humiliated the country, impaired its credit, and burdened it with debt; while industries were paralyzed, the army neglected, and the people overburdened with taxation. He demanded that a special congress should be convened to reform the constitution, the executive being vested meanwhile in some "citizen worthy of confidence," and with extraordinary power. For the complaint there may have been sufficient excuse; but the remedy implied simply a dictatorship for Santa Anna, with whom Paredes was secretly in league.

The movement spread rapidly, among other cities Guadalajara, Guanajuato, Querétaro, Vera Cruz, and even the capital declaring in its favor. A force of 1,000 men despatched against Paredes deserted to the enemy in a body; and on the 25th of September, Santa Anna, reviewing his troops at Tacubaya, as commander-in-chief, found himself at the head of a considerable army. Three days later was issued the revised political plan known as the Bases of Tacubaya, whereby a council composed of two deputies from each department was to choose a provisional president, and summon a congress for the sole purpose of framing a new constitution. The president was to have full power to reorganize the public administration, and the governing powers established by the constitution of 1836 were abolished, with the exception of the judiciary. Under the circumstances, the temporary concentration of power in the strong hand of a "citizen worthy of confidence" was perhaps the best remedy for existing evils; but the question was as to its abuse, and assuredly Santa Anna was not the man for the occasion.

The government was granted only two days to arrive at a decision, and several plans were considered, among others the

resignation of Bustamante. Finally it was resolved to declare in favor of the federal system as the only means of preventing the dictatorship and defeating the schemes of Santa Anna. On the 30th of September, therefore, the president at the head of his troops proclaimed the federation in the great plaza of Mexico, amid booming of cannon, ringing of bells, and the acclaim of the populace.

Indignant at this counter-stroke, Santa Anna began hostilities, and again the capital was exposed to the horrors of civil strife. On this occasion, however, the struggle was of brief duration, for it was believed that a revolution headed by Santa Anna could not fail of success. In order to save the inhabitants from further suffering, Bustamante resolved to evacuate the city, and marched forth at the head of his troops in the direction of Guadalupe. The enemy followed in pursuit, and both sides drew up in battle array; but though stronger than his adversary, the insurgent commander was by no means prepared to risk an engagement. The ex-president, on the other hand, doubted the loyalty of his men, and as neither party was anxious to fight, an arrangement was at length concluded by which the government forces passed over to the revolutionists, and all past differences were forgotten.

Soon afterward Bustamante set sail for Europe, having won the respect of all parties by his unselfish and honorable conduct. A soldier rather than a statesman, slow of action and somewhat given to vacillation, he was entirely unfitted to control the destinies of the centralist faction, with which the people at large were not in sympathy. With scanty resources, and without any well-defined policy, he had ventured on a series of political experiments, trusting rather to fortune than to the dictates of experience. On every side he was met with opposition, sometimes passive and at other times breaking forth in pronunciamientos; while among the other misfortunes of his troubled administration, the war with France and the revolt in Yucatan enabled his opponents to complete his overthrow.

On the 7th of October Santa Anna made a triumphal entry into the capital, and was declared provisional president, two days later assuming control of affairs. In accordance with the provisions of the plan of Tacubaya, the new congress was installed on the 10th of June, 1842. The election of deputies by indirect vote, through electoral colleges, was estimated for the 24 departments on the basis of one member for every 70,000 inhabitants, the entire population being then about 7,000,000. The result was a decided victory for the federalists, greatly to the disappointment of the president, who had striven in vain to control the choice of members, and now attempted, but without success, to influence their discussions. On the contrary, the deputies exerted themselves all the more to frame a constitution which would meet the wishes of the country, and put an end to a despotism that threatened even the nation's representatives.

Foreseeing that a crisis was approaching, Santa Anna had recourse to his now well-understood manœuvre of retiring to his country estate, there to watch and direct operations, leaving the brunt of the contest, and perhaps the humiliation of defeat, to be borne by a subordinate, while in case of success he could again step forward and claim the victory.

On the 11th of December, a pronunciamiento was issued, declaring the national assembly unworthy of confidence, and demanding that a council be appointed to revise the constitution drawn up by its members. The movement was seconded in the capital and in most of the central provinces; in the former by the garrison, and in the latter by the manipulations of the cabinet and clergy. The deputies could obtain no assurance of protection, and finding the hall of congress closed against them, dissolved of their own accord. Thereupon Nicolás Bravo, who as president of the council had been nominally placed in charge of the administration, issued a manifesto, declaring that the government would appoint a number of patriotic and intelligent citizens to frame the organic structure of the commonwealth.

As the result, eighty prominent centralists, termed "the council of the notables," were elected, and proceeding vigorously to work, drew up a plan for the political organization of the republic, their measures being formally sanctioned by the government in June 1843. Provision was made for a popular representative system, and yet the qualifications for the franchise, which was restricted to those whose incomes were not less than $200, excluded a considerable portion of the population The elections were to be subjected to a filtering process, during which the government could find ample opportunity to influence them, and the departments were left almost entirely at the mercy of the cabinet, which appointed their governors, and indirectly their subordinate officials.

These measures were inaugurated under the personal supervision of Santa Anna, who had now emerged from his retreat, and procured for himself a brilliant reception at the capital. Soon, however, the political horizon assumed a less encouraging aspect, and again the president deemed it prudent to retire to the seclusion of his country residence, where, under the excuse of shattered health, he remained until the following summer. On the 3d of June he made his formal entry into Mexico, amid the pomp suggested by fawning adherents and subordinates.

The forebodings suggested by his arrival were speedily realized, for now the United States were considering the question of annexing to their territory the state of Texas; their troops were already gathering on its border, and a squadron of their fleet had appeared off Vera Cruz. When an explanation of these threatening movements was requested, the president replied by demanding a forced contribution of $4,000,000 for war purposes. The failure of his efforts to increase the amount, and to obtain special powers for raising it, kindled his indignation, for Santa Anna was accustomed to the obedience, or at least to the deference, of cabinet and congress. Soon he began to pine once more for the seclusion of his estate, and erelong the death of his wife furnished the necessary excuse.

So at least declared the president, although it does not ap-

pear that his affliction was very grievous to be borne; for about five weeks later he espoused a damsel of some fifteen summers, who was wedded to him by proxy in the person of her godfather. The people were not in the least surprised at this outrage on common decency. The character of Santa Anna was already too well known, as was also his indulgence in all manner of dissipation and extravagance, from Lotharian intrigues and free association with the base-born and depraved, to costly entertainments, the expense of which was defrayed from the funds extorted through forced contributions and loans, from the gifts of office-seekers, and from the bribes of fraudulent contractors. His subordinate officials of course followed his example, and the result was wide-spread corruption in all branches of the administration. Commanders of the troops and districts committed the most outrageous abuses of trust and power, dividing their gains with those higher in office, or relying on their own cunning to escape detection. From the president downward all who were in authority appointed creatures of their own to positions of responsibility, entirely irrespective of merit, dismissing more capable officials, and granting sinecures to their own favorites, while those who had served their country faithfully asked in vain for their pensions and allowances Under such circumstances, and with the country staggering under an intolerable load of taxation, progress was impossible. Capital was withdrawn, and trade and industries languished, while Indian raids spread desolation on the northern borders, and in the southern provinces the highways were infested with hordes of banditti.

The funds collected by the government melted away as if by magic while passing through the hands of officials, and in September the national assembly was astonished by a further request for a loan of $10,000,000, on the ground of the invasion of California by bands of adventurers, and the intimation that France and England would favor the Texans in the event of a protracted struggle. The demand was refused by congress, and several of the local assemblies protested against the con-

tribution, especially those of Jalisco and Querétaro. By the inhabitants of the former state a protest was made against the measures proposed by the cabinet, and aware that a mere remonstrance would not be heeded, the people resolved to enforce it by an armed demonstration, the comandante general placing himself at the head of the garrison, and requesting Paredes to assume the leadership.

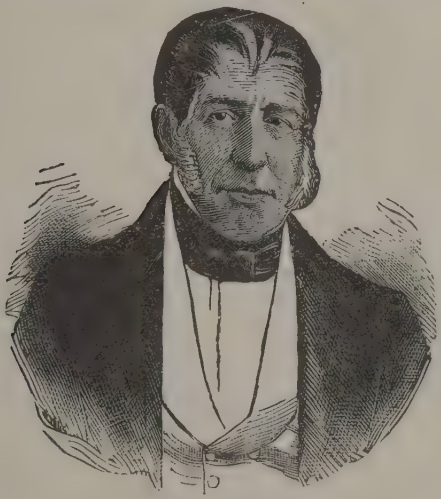
The services of Paredes in restoring Santa Anna to power had not been recognized as in his opinion they deserved. Hence he readily availed himself of the comandante's offer, and on the 2d of November published a manifesto charging the government with violation of trust, and declaring Santa Anna suspended from office, pending an examination by congress. Thereupon the ministry issued a proclamation in which Paredes was branded as a traitor and the authorities at Jalisco as enemies of their country.

The president resolved to crush the insurrection in its infancy, and on the 18th entered the capital at the head of his army, amid the usual demonstrations. Thence without delay he set forth for Querétaro, where, though no overt resistance was offered, the authorities and the local assembly almost ignored his presence. At the head of 14,000 men Santa Anna then marched against Paredes, and the latter was probably saved from defeat by the news of an uprising in Mexico, where at the close of the year the dictator was confronted by a garrison of 8,000, while Paredes and other leaders, at the head of large bodies of troops, were approaching from various directions. Meanwhile General Herrera, the president of the council, had assumed the control of affairs, Santa Anna being proclaimed a rebel, and divested of all authority.

Without proceeding further with the story of this revolution, it need only be said that the dictator yielded almost without striking a blow, and attempting to escape, was captured and imprisoned in the fortress of Perote. Here, or at the hands of the executioner he would probably have ended his days but for the influence of his party; and in the amnesty proclaimed

on the 24th of May, 1845, his name was included only on condition that he should depart from the country.

Before taking his leave Santa Anna issued one of those well-studied addresses, in which he had more than once appealed to the sympathies of his countrymen. He begged them to for-



José Joaquin Herrera.

give the unintentional errors of a man who still suffered from the wounds received while driving the invaders of his country into the sea. Until his last breath he would never cease to offer up to the Eternal his humble supplications for their prosperity, and he still hoped to see them among the happiest, as they were now among the foremost, of the nations of the earth.

CHAPTER XLVI.

WAR WITH THE UNITED STATES.

In the year 1820, one Moses Austin, then residing in the state of Missouri, obtained a grant of land from the authorities in Texas, and after his decease, his son, receiving a confirmation of the grant, established settlements in the county which now bears his name. Although in 1830 a law was passed forbidding the occupation by foreigners of tracts within the territory of the republic and adjacent to those belonging to their own nationality, colonization increased rapidly, and in 1833 there were not less than 20,000 men from the United States within the boundaries of this department. It was then determined by the Texans to separate from Coahuila, and at a council held at San Félipe a constitution was adopted, and a commission appointed to lay before congress a memorial, setting forth the grievances of the people, and asking for redress.

Among other grounds of complaint, it was alleged that troops were stationed in the department whose presence was unnecessary, and whose conduct often provoked the citizens to acts of hostility. In these émeutes the Americans usually had the advantage, and when in 1835 the constitution of the centralists threatened to withdraw certain political privileges which had induced them to form their settlements, they followed the example of other Mexican states, and declared for independence until the federal system should be restored. In the following year, Santa Anna, who was sent against them with a considerable force, was himself captured and compelled to give his consent to their secession. Though his action was not indorsed by the government, no attempt was made at the moment to reduce them to obedience, partly on account of the unsettled condition of affairs.

With the influx of settlers and the development of its resources, Texas became each year more prosperous, and soon her independence was acknowledged by several foreign powers, among others by the United States. The pressing demands of the latter for the settlement of the claims of American citi-

TEXAS.

zens who had suffered loss during the various revolutionary movements, and their doubtful attitude in landing a force in California, had created a bitterness of feeling between the two countries, which culminated in 1845, when Texas was admitted into the Union.

Meanwhile, Herrera's peaceful administration had been set aside by the war party of Paredes, and the government re-

sumed its military operations in Texas; for to this policy the promoters of the revolution had pledged themselves. Finally, the annexation of the territory caused a rupture with the United States.

In the first regular engagement, fought at Palo Alto on the 8th of May, 1846, the Mexicans were defeated after a stubborn contest, and on the following day a second victory was won by the Americans, who were commanded by General Taylor. In both encounters the latter suffered severely; the morale and discipline of the Mexican army was seriously impaired, troops who had fought bravely on twenty battle-fields retreating without firing a shot, and others, believing that their cause was betrayed, breaking their muskets in rage and disgust. Henceforth, the invaders were opposed mainly to raw recruits, who, though not wanting in courage, were indifferently armed and officered.

Under able leadership, the Americans gained victory after victory. During the autumn, Monterey, the key to the northern departments, was captured, while the forces of General Wool overran Coahuila, and Kearny marched through New Mexico into California. Another division under Scott entered Mexico by way of Vera Cruz, this city being captured, after a destructive bombardment, in March 1847. At Cerro Gordo a determined effort to check the advance of the invaders was prevented by a series of flank movements. Thus the road was opened to Puebla, and in August the United States army appeared within sight of the capital.

Between the 7th and 10th of August, 1847, the American army, mustering about 11,200 strong, advanced in échelon of divisions on Mexico. It was, of course, expected that resistance would be encountered when crossing the range which separates the lowlands from the table-lands, and whence, more than three centuries before, Cortés first beheld the city of the Montezumas. The route lay north of the silver-frosted summits of Popocatepetl and Iztaccihuatl, at whose feet was verdure reflecting the smile of perpetual summer, while clus-

tering around the lakes and among undulating savannas and meadows carpeted with blossoms, villas nestled amid gardens and groves, and beyond were the checkered domes and fretted turrets of the queen city of Anáhuac.

On the line of march the tortuous path skirted slopes of volcanoes, extinct or slumbering, but now girt with a death-bearing cestus, the gleam of bayonets, the flash of sabres, and the enginery of war.

When the American troops approached the city, they were confronted by well-mounted fortifications, and by an army eager for the fray. Disobedience of orders on the part of General Valencia contributed in a measure to the victory won by the former at Cherubusco on the 20th of August. During the negotiations which followed, the Mexicans found time to rally, and rejecting the demands of the enemy, presented a bold front, only again to suffer defeat at Molino del Rey. Five days later fell Chapultepec; and on the 14th of September the United States forces were in possession of the capital.

At the head of a brilliant suite and an imposing force General Scott made his entry into the city, amidst a dense throng of spectators, who lined the streets and filled the balconies, from which white flags were hoisted in token of surrender. Yet many portions were deserted, and the invaders were received with chilling silence and sullen gaze, relieved only by glances of curiosity at the imposing figure and benevolent features of the commander. Signs of hostility were observed among the populace as the men dispersed in search of quarters, and soon the insolence of the soldiery provoked a determined uprising. The first shot was aimed at a group of officers, among whom was General Worth. Then followed a scattering fusillade, accompanied with showers of missiles from the roofs. Recognizing the danger of allowing the movement to gain strength in a large and populous city, where every building was a stronghold, Scott ordered up his artillery and swept the streets with grape and canister, while the crowd was dispersed at point of bayonet.

And now for a brief space came the horrors of a siege, intensified by the outrages of criminals released from the public jails. Thousands of the inhabitants fled from the city, and others crowded into the churches to implore protection of the Virgin; for all day long was heard the roar of cannon and the crash of musketry. Night brought no respite; for although the conflict abated, darkness magnified the prevailing terror, which was further increased by the tramp and uproar of drunken and infuriated soldiery, while banditti crept within shadow of the walls, lurking for prey. Early on the following day the town council issued a proclamation forbidding further resistance; and the demonstrations of Scott, with his threat of razing to the ground every building from which missiles were directed, at length put an end to opposition.

During the campaign in the valley of Mexico, more than 2,700 of the invading army were killed and wounded; which heavy casualties among a force of about 11,900 men sufficiently indicated the determined resistance offered by the Mexicans. The losses of the latter were estimated by Scott at over 7,000, in addition to 3,700 prisoners, 132 pieces of cannon, and large quantities of small-arms and ammunition.

At this juncture Santa Anna, who at the beginning of the war had been recalled from exile and placed at the head of the forces, attempted to cut off the communications of the American army with the port of Vera Cruz. The commander-in-chief of the Mexicans has been styled the Napolean of the republic, and perhaps deserved better even than the nephew of the great conqueror the title of Napolean the Little. Though he had closely studied the tactics of Bonaparte, it cannot be said that he had profited thereby, and to his timidity and want of judgment may be largely attributed the disasters that befell his country.

At the battle of Padierna, for instance, a single column of the enemy, much inferior in strength to the forces which he held in hand, was sufficient to check his advance, though in its rear was the victorious cavalry of Valencia, and other avail-

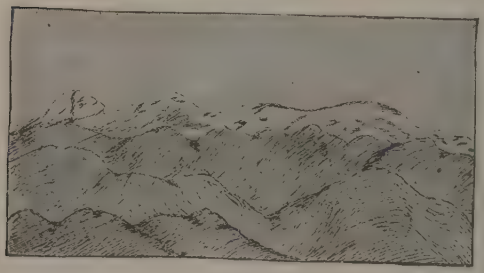
able support. Instead of attacking the foe, thus placed between two fires, he allowed the opportunity to pass, sneering at the reports transmitted by his lieutenant, whose efforts had been successful in another part of the field. Meanwhile re-enforcements were hurried forward by Scott, and thus victory was wrested from his grasp. On this occasion, at least, his generalship was somewhat in contrast with that of Napoleon I., who declared that while he might lose battles he never lost minutes.

After an unsuccessful attempt to capture the city of Puebla, Santa Anna gave up the struggle as hopeless, and all organized resistance ceased. On the 2d of February, 1848, a treaty of peace was signed at Guadalupe Hidalgo, whereby New Mexico and Upper California were ceded to the United States in return for the cancellation of individual claims and the payment of $15,000,000.

Thus ended a war that should never have been undertaken,—a war commenced by one of the parties with little justification, and by the other with lack of foresight and indifference to results. Without the necessary funds, in the midst of a political disturbance, and after thirty-six years of civil strife, the Mexican republic in vain measured its strength with a powerful and vigorous nation, possessing abundant military resources. Yet unfortunate as were the results, it must be acknowledged that the honor of the country was maintained, for in the treaty were no humiliating conditions, such as are apt to be imposed on a conquered people. That the government of the United States was in the wrong is the verdict of all civilized nations, and is admitted even by all fair-minded American citizens. Though Mexico lost a large portion of her domain and many of her people, she retained her independence, and with it a vast extent of territory

No one has attempted to explain by what right Texas was annexed to the Union, after the Sabine River had been formally declared by the latter as the boundary between Mexico and the United States.

At the beginning of the dispute the United States had a noble opportunity of displaying her magnanimity to a weaker neighbor, and aiding her in the task of building up republican institutions. Instead of doing so, the president, while pretending to sigh for peace, gave orders for waging a devastating war, the press meanwhile openly advocating the destruction of Mexican cities. These barbarous sentiments were aggravated by the false pretext on which they were urged, namely, that Mexico provoked hostilities. The fact is, that troops were ordered by President Polk to invade her territory, and in doing so he assumed powers that were not vested in him by law, his conduct being afterward censured by the house of representatives. When peace was concluded, the president boasted in his message of the magnanimous forbearance exhibited toward Mexico! In truth, it was not magnanimity, but policy, which prompted him and his colleagues to pay a sum of money in order to secure some show of title to what would else have been regarded as stolen territory.



CHAPTER XLVII.

THE DICTATORSHIP AND THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERTY.

THE successful negotiation of the treaty of Guadalupe was due mainly to the efforts of Peña y Peña, who on the 8th of January, 1848, was temporarily appointed to the executive,

PEÑA Y PEÑA.

Herrera being elected to the presidency for a second term during the same year. The task of the latter was indeed a difficult one, for he was now expected to give new life to the country, reorganize departments, aid institutions, and restore

prosperity. All this he must accomplish with scanty means, and in the face of a violent opposition from parties intent only on their own advancement. For the fiscal year 1849–50 the estimated receipts of the government from all sources amounted to $8,000,000, and the expenses to $16,500,000, while for the following year the income and expenditure were respectively $9,000,000 and $11,300,000. To meet the deficiency, payments were deferred, prospective revenue was mortgaged, and at the risk of provoking fresh pronunciamientos further taxes and contributions were levied. Meanwhile expensive campaigns must be maintained against Paredes, who had planned a revolt in Jalisco against rebel bands of Indians, as in Yucatan, where for several years the natives remained in arms, and finally against those who had declared for a separate northern republic.

During Herrera's administration there were frequent changes in the ministry, for under the existing condition of affairs men of character and ability were unwilling to accept and remain in office. The weakness of the government swelled the number of its opponents, and the concession to the United States of transit rights across the isthmus of Tehuantepec caused the ministry to become unpopular. At the beginning of 1851, the elections were carried by the liberal party, and the choice for president fell on General Arista.

Herrera retired from office with a stainless character, acknowledged by all as a well-meaning man, and one intent on beneficent projects, though lacking in the discernment and tact needed to select and retain his colleagues. Considering the manifold difficulties which confronted him, while attempting, with insufficient means and against harassing opposition, to bring order out of chaos in a country long distracted by civil war and foreign invasion, his administration was not unworthy of credit, though many of its most difficult tasks still remained to be accomplished. In February 1854, his decease occurred at his country retreat in Tacubaya, and he was long afterward remembered as one of the most upright and unselfish of rulers.

The new president was a man from whose experience and ability much was expected. It mattered not that his political principles were of a somewhat doubtful character, and that his want of generalship during the war with the United States had brought disaster on his command. Although trained in the ranks of the royalists, he possessed discernment enough to join the revolutionary cause as soon as its triumph was assured, for to him constancy was at best a burdensome virtue. In later years he passed in quick succession from one party to another, being ever on the side of the victorious faction, while as minister of war under Herrera he lost no opportunity of promoting his own interests, with a view of succeeding him as president.

Although Arista was now a strong conservative, while congress was composed mainly of liberals, for a time the country remained comparatively free from political disturbance. The financial difficulties still remained as ever the most difficult problem of the day, partly on account of the constant changes in the ministry, but more through want of harmony and intelligent co-operation between the executive and legislature, and the state assemblies and ayuntamientos of the states. The budget exhibited a deficiency of no less than $17,725,000, the receipts being estimated at $8,275,000, and the expenditure at $26,000,000, though the latter figures were somewhat exaggerated, in order to place in their strongest light the necessities of the government. Some little saving was effected by reducing the salaries of employés; but in other directions large amounts were heedlessly squandered, and in August 1851 a council of governors from the various departments was summoned to consider the condition of affairs, and to suggest remedies. Far from sympathizing with the administration, they condemned it for lack of system and management, and prepared new estimates of expenditure in which the deficiency was entirely removed.

The enforced retrenchments of the government gave rise to a number of serious difficulties, which tended to weaken its

hold on the public. One result was the alarming increase of crime, and especially of highway robberies, on account of a reduction in the patrol service, and the indifference or connivance of underpaid officials; another, the renewal of pronunciamientos, which were allowed to gain such strength that, when active measures were taken against their promoters, they were beyond control. One of these movements, started at Guadalajara in July 1852, met with such favor that in January of the following year Arista was compelled to resign, whereupon the presidency devolved, under the provisions of the constitution, on Chief Justice Ceballos, whose administration lasted but for a single month.

The services of Santa Anna during the war with the United States, and his voluntary return into exile, caused many to look upon him with favor, while with the army he had always been popular. Moreover, his partisans called attention to the urgent need for a man of his supposed ability to bring order out of the confusion which now prevailed throughout the country. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that at the elections held early in 1853, the choice fell by an overwhelming majority on the wily hero of Vera Cruz.

On the 1st of April, Santa Anna once more set foot on the soil of Mexico. His journey to the capital resembled a triumphal march; for everywhere he was received with streaming banners and pealing bells, passing under imposing arches and floral wreaths, amid the boom of cannon and the plaudits of the populace. To these marks of favor he responded with smiles and promises, to which he gave support by a well-studied proclamation. No less pleasing was the effect produced by an amnesty for all political offences, which served to lull the fears of those on whom his vengeance might fall

The unsettled condition of affairs which existed at the close of the recent revolution was met by a centralization of government, even the municipal authorities being deposed, except in the leading towns. Everything was made subordinate to the

will of Santa Anna, who carried out his measures through the agency of a host of officials, from councillors, generals, and governors, to prefects, subprefects, and clerks, selected mainly on account of their devotion to his cause. Although ability and fitness were but secondary considerations, they were by no means lacking, for his adherents belonged as a rule to the educated classes, and his council of state contained many who had won repute in the forum and the pulpit. The governors and prefects were chosen for the most part from the ranks of the military, among whom he well knew how to select those who, by their training and influence over their men, were best fitted to carry out his designs. The readiest means for according favors and rallying adherents around the government was to confer appointments in the army, which was, therefore, to be reorganized and increased to 91,500 strong, of which 26,500 were regulars, and the remainder militia, all the provincial regiments being enrolled in the latter, with a view to their being held under control by the central government.

It had been the custom hitherto to style the president Excelentísimo; but this title, though it would answer for Santa Anna's predecessors, was not in keeping with the pretensions of a dictator. That of Most Serene Highness was therefore suggested, and to this many wished to add Mariscal General, Grand Admiral, and Grand Elector for Life. Determined not to be forestalled in doing him honor, the army pronounced him Savior of Mexico, while in some districts he was even proclaimed Emperor, though the latter proceeding was not indorsed by the people at large, and served only to make his other titles appear by contrast somewhat less ridiculous. Meanwhile, the savior of the country was assured by his favorites that unless he remained in control the nation would be exposed to anarchy and ruin. To this appeal there was but one answer; he would sacrifice himself for the public good. Accordingly, on the 16th of December, 1853, he issued a decree indefinitely prolonging the dictatorship, and conferring on himself the title of Most Serene Highness.

At the opening of 1854 the political situation rapidly changed for the worse. Puffed with vanity and blinded by adulation, Santa Anna had begun to regard himself almost as a god. Soon pronunciamientos began to appear in various directions, and on the 20th of February news was received in the capital that Álavrez had raised the standard of revolt in the south. Soon afterward was proclaimed at Ayutla, in the department of Guerrero, a plan demanding the removal of the dictator, and the convening of a congress for the purpose of of framing a new federal constitution with popular representation; and though at first the ministry pretended to despise the movement, they soon found it beyond their control. On the 11th the plan was adopted with slight modifications by the garrison of Acapulco. under the leadership of Ignacio Comon-

IGNACIO COMONFORT.

fort, a retired militia colonel and ex-collector of customs, who had been removed from office under circumstances which unjustly cast a stain on his character.

Santa Anna now decided to take the field in person, the ministry being instructed to issue a circular stating that his most serene highness would be absent from the capital only for a month, the object of his journey being to ascertain by a personal inspection the true condition of affairs. After gaining some insignificant victories, which were magnified by the local organ into a series of triumphs, he laid siege to Acapulco at the head of 7,000 men; but he was compelled to retreat, and in an action fought soon afterward his forces narrowly escaped destruction. Thenceforth the revolution spread rapidly, its progress being aided by the cession to the United States of the Mesilla Valley, which included the present territory of Arizona.

In order to ascertain, as was pretended, the will of the nation, a vote was taken, whereby the people were requested to declare whether the dictator should remain in office, and if not, to whom he should surrender the executive authority. The result was an overwhelming majority in his favor, which had no effect, however, except to provoke a fresh series of pronunciamientos. At length, convinced that further effort was useless, he fled from the capital, setting out on the 9th of August for Vera Cruz, and appointing as his successors a triumvirate, consisting of the president of the supreme court and generals Mariano Salas and Martin Carrera. Arriving at Perote, he issued a manifesto extolling his services, and accusing others of having brought on his country the misfortunes which were due only to his own selfish ambition. He also sent instructions to General Vega, who had been placed in command at the capital, to install the triumvirate without further delay; but was informed that the city had already declared in favor of the plan of Ayutla. A few days later, he set sail for Habana, whence he proceeded to Cartagena; and though he afterward returned to Mexico, his presence was almost ignored, and henceforth his name disappears from the annals of the republic.

No sooner was the nation released from the tyranny of the

dictator, than the troops stationed in the capital, supported by a popular demonstration, placed Carrera temporarily in charge of affairs. Among other aspirants to the presidency was one of Santa Anna's discarded ministers, named Haro, who placed himself at the head of a revolutionary movement in San Luis Potosí; but Alvarez, soon afterward arriving in the capital, was appointed to the executive on the 4th of October, 1855. During his brief term of office, which lasted only until the

JUAN ÁLVAREZ.

12th of December, many decrees were issued with a view to promote reform and counteract the despotic measures of Santa Anna, foremost among them being the so-called Juarez law limiting the jurisdiction of ecclesiastical and military tribunals, and the special privileges of the army and clergy.

Although these proceedings were almost necessary as safeguards against further political disturbance, they were decried by the opponents of the government as intended merely to humiliate the clergy and lessen their influence. Even those

who favored neither the church nor the liberals pronounced against the radical measures of the president, who was now called upon to surrender his authority in favor of Comonfort. Álvarez was not an ambitious man; nor did he feel at home amid the society of the capital. Moreover his health, already impaired by age and infirmity, was seriously affected by the climate of the valley of Mexico. Hence he was only too ready to tender his resignation in favor of one who had proved himself a sincere friend and a trustworthy ally.

While less extreme in his policy, Comonfort remained true to the plan of Ayutla; hence the clergy still continued their machinations, a revolt being soon afterward started under the guidance of Haro, assisted by other prominent leaders. Comonfort, taking the field against them, achieved a signal triumph, which involved the fall of Puebla; and the clergy of this diocese being the main promoters of the uprising, their estates were seized in payment of war expenses and indemnities. Soon afterward a provisional constitution was framed, confirming the government in its discretionary powers, which included, among other functions, the appointment of governors and the censorship of the press.

A decree suppressing the Jesuits was followed, on the 25th of June, 1856, by an enactment termed the Lerdo law, prohibiting civil and religious corporations from holding real estate, and allowing the tenants of such property to purchase it on liberal terms. Hence arose a hue-and-cry among the clergy, which resulted, however, only in the banishment of a number of clergymen and friars. In quelling the outbreaks which ensued, it must be admitted that the conduct of the president was stamped with a generosity as noble as it was rare, and thus he gained for himself the good-will of the people, whereby he was greatly assisted in the diffusion of liberal principles.

The growth of liberal ideas enabled congress to issue, in 1857, a new constitution, which, though resembling that of 1824, contained many additional clauses. Declaring the rights

of the people, it granted free speech and a free press, abolished special tribunals, hereditary honors, titles, and prerogatives, and forbade the confiscation of property. Corporations were not permitted to hold real estate, except what was needed for actual use, and monopolies were forbidden with the exception of patents. The legislative power was vested in an assembly, termed the house of representatives, and chosen every two years by an electoral college at the rate of one deputy for every 40,000 inhabitants.

These changes at first met with little opposition, except from the church party; but their objections carried such weight that many of the people finally refused to accept the constitution, and Comonfort proposed to replace it by the organic laws of 1843, which were extremely centralistic. Fortunately his party came to the rescue and imparted new courage, though the vacillation of the president gave a feeling of confidence to the opponents of the measure. Notwithstanding that the ensuing elections resulted in favor of Comonfort, his want of firmness soon caused disastrous results; and in December, the commander-in-chief, Félix Zuloaga, issued a pronunciamiento at Tacubaya, winning over the entire garrison of Mexico to his plan, which demanded that the constitution should be rejected, and a congress summoned to frame one better suited to the needs of the country.

The timid policy of the president enabled Zuloaga's army of regeneration, as it was termed, to issue yet another pronunciamiento, whereupon the former soon afterward departed for the United States, declaring that his presence seemed only to give rise to disorder. Though a liberal at heart, his good-natured desire to please both parties had aroused the distrust of one and destroyed his influence with the other.

The plan of Tacubaya had been followed by the arrest of several deputies; but a number of liberals had fled to Querétaro, and called upon the states to side with them in support of the adopted constitution. In response, an imposing coalition was formed, joined finally by Vera Cruz, which had at

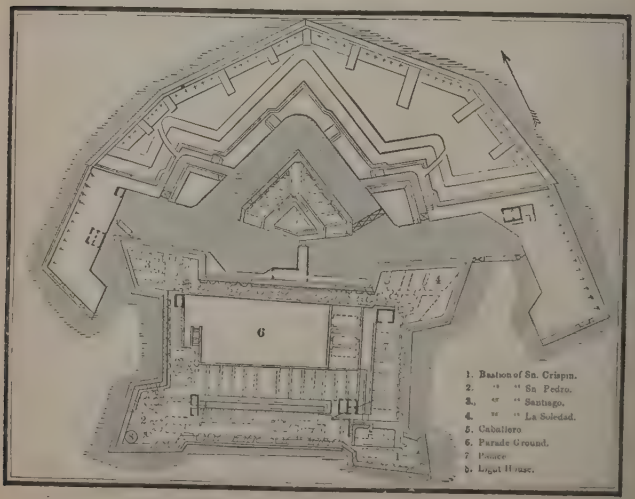
first declared for Zuloaga. General Parrodi was appointed to the command of the liberal forces, and Benito Juarez was installed as president by virtue of his office as chief justice.

Meanwhile another president had been appointed at the capital, in the person of Zuloaga, who had openly declared

FÉLIX ZULOAGA

himself a conservative, appointed a cabinet and council, and annulled all ultra-liberal decrees, ordering the restoration of all church estates. Under generals Osollo and Miramon his forces gained victory after victory, and with able leaders and abundant means their mere presence sufficed to bring most of the country to his feet. In May 1858, Juarez and his ministers took refuge in Vera Cruz, the strength and position of this port and its sea-girt fortress making it a favorable point from which to direct the operations of the liberal forces. Although few in numbers, the Juarists had won the confidence of the people by promising release from the oppression of land-owners and the clergy.

VERA CRUZ.



VERA CRUZ AND ULÚA.

The result was a revival of the great popular movement of 1810. In all directions guerilla bands came forth from their mountain fastnesses, and when defeated in one place reunited in another. While priests launched forth anathemas, liberal chieftains scattered broadcast their proclamations, which for a time resulted only in forced loans and levies, paralyzing trade and spreading misery in all directions. The latter spared the poorer classes as far as possible, but the conservatives pressed heavily upon all, and later committed the fatal blunder of calling in foreigners to aid them in their extortions.

After a long period of continuous warfare, an entirely unforeseen event gave a new aspect to affairs. At Ayotla General Echeagaray, on whom Zuloaga relied for the capture of the Juarist stronghold, pronounced in favor of a middle course between the liberal and conservative extremes, declaring that he would make an effort to save the nation by proposing conciliatory measures. To this end his army would occupy the capital, and there summon an assembly composed of three deputies elected from each department, for the purpose of framing a new constitution to be submitted to public vote. This project resembled somewhat the plan of Iguala, whereby Iturbide united the royalists and insurgents in the struggle for independence; but though adopted by the garrison, it failed to receive the support of the new congress, which was composed almost entirely of conservatives, and chose for president Miguel Miramon, who thus at the age of twenty-six found himself at the head of the nation and of the Mexican armies.

Within a year and a half after the presidency was conferred on Juarez by the liberal party, no less than seventy battles were fought, three fourths of which were claimed as victories by the conservatives, this result being mainly due to their superior organization. So severely, however, were they straitened for means to carry on their costly operations, that in October 1859 a loan of $15,000,000 was contracted on very unfavorable terms, which afterward led to a disastrous foreign intervention. Juarez was also driven to similar straits. In

April he had succeeded in obtaining from the United States a formal recognition of his government, greatly to the disgust of the conservatives; and a treaty was arranged by Minister McLane, whereby perpetual and unrestricted transit was secured across the isthmus of Tehuantepec, and across the northern states to the Pacific Ocean, together with exemption for American citizens from levies and loans, and permission to employ troops to enforce the observance of the stipulations.

MIGUAL MIRAMON.

In return for these concessions the liberals were to receive a few millions. The indignation caused by these measures, not only in Mexico, but in England and France, called the attention of American statesmen to the danger of accepting privileges which were interpreted by foreigners as a virtual transfer of the country. The treaty was not ratified; and thus the liberals escaped the responsibility of a proceeding which might have been used as a formidable weapon against them.

Another conspicuous act on the part of Juarez was the church confiscation decree of July 12, 1859, based on the

ground that the clergy had been the main support of the royalists during the war of independence, and since then the most powerful opponents of liberal ideas, promoting the present fratricidal war for the purpose of retaining their supremacy both in civil and religious matters. It restored to the nation all property held by the regular and secular clergy, and severed the union between church and state, while granting to all denominations the right of public worship. Ministers were to receive for their services only voluntary fees, and could hold no real estate, while all religious societies were dissolved, as dangerous to the public welfare. These measures aroused to greater bitterness the clerical party, which did not hesitate to oppose them through the confessional, the pulpit, and the curse of excommunication, taking advantage of the timid consciences of women and the fears of the people.

During the latter part of 1859, the conservatives were again victorious in the field; but at the beginning of the following year the scale of victory turned in favor of the liberals, and on the 10th of August the former were totally routed by General Ortega, with the loss of their artillery, baggage, and a large number of prisoners. After some further triumphs, the forces of the Juarists, now mustering 25,000 strong, entered the capital on the 1st of January, 1861, amid the plaudits of their long-suffering adherents.

CHAPTER XLVIII.

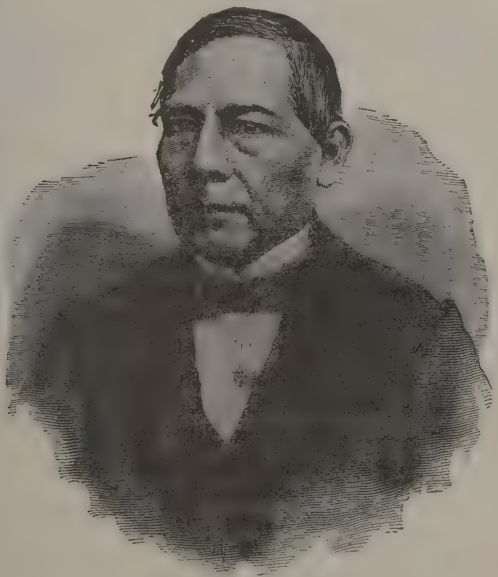
FOREIGN INTERVENTION.

THE appointment of Juarez to the presidency was due, as will be remembered, only to the accident of succession, and at the forthcoming elections several powerful personages came forward as competitors. The former was acknowledged, however, as a patriot whose self-abnegation, administrative ability, and tenacity of purpose had contributed largely to the defeat of the conservatives, and on him fell the choice of the liberals, though by a small majority.

Of humble birth, the poverty of his relatives, and the isolated position of his home, in an obscure hamlet some eight leagues from the city of Oajaca, prevented him from receiving in early youth any education. When twelve years of age, he could neither read nor write, and was entirely ignorant of the Spanish language. In 1818 he entered the service of a worthy and charitable citizen, who resolved to train him for the priesthood, and in due time entered his name on the books of a theological college. But though a gifted and diligent student, Juarez had no taste for theology, and soon afterward resolved to prepare himself for the profession of law. Before being admitted to the bar, he took an active part in the political campaign of 1828, declaring in favor of the Yorkino faction. Thenceforth his time was devoted rather to politics than to the practice of his profession, and in 1846 he was elected a deputy to the national congress. In the following year he was appointed governor of Oajaca, and held that position for several years, becoming a member of the cabinet after the triumph of the revolution of Ayutla.

The liberals were now divided into two parties, which may be termed the constitutionalists and reformists, the former abiding by the constitution of 1857, and the latter being in

favor of radical amendments; while a third faction, sustained by the clergy, was somewhat in sympathy with the conservatives. Even in the cabinet there was dissention, caused mainly by financial questions, among them being the suspension of payments on the national debt, and the necessity for forced loans and an increase of taxation.



BENITO PABLO JUAREZ.

To suspend payments to foreign creditors was a measure against which their representatives decidedly protested, the French minister being especially urgent in insisting on the rights of his countrymen. Soon afterward came news of a convention between England, France, and Spain, whereby these powers proposed to intermeddle with Mexican affairs, first seizing the custom-house at Vera Cruz and holding it as

security for claims. The government made preparations for defence; but as experience had proved that the fortress of Ulúa could not be defended against foreign armaments, it was abandoned, and at the close of 1861 a Spanish fleet, followed a few weeks later by French and British squadrons, took possession of the principal harbor of the republic.

Before the unyielding determination of Juarez, and the unfolding designs of Napoleon III., Spain began to waver, and in April withdrew her forces, followed soon afterward by the English, though not until the latter had concluded an advantageous treaty. The French, however, boldly declared their intention to establish a monarchy in Mexico, and while disclaiming any hostile intentions against the people, issued a proclamation inviting all who were friendly to their cause to rally round the standard of the most liberal nation in Europe.

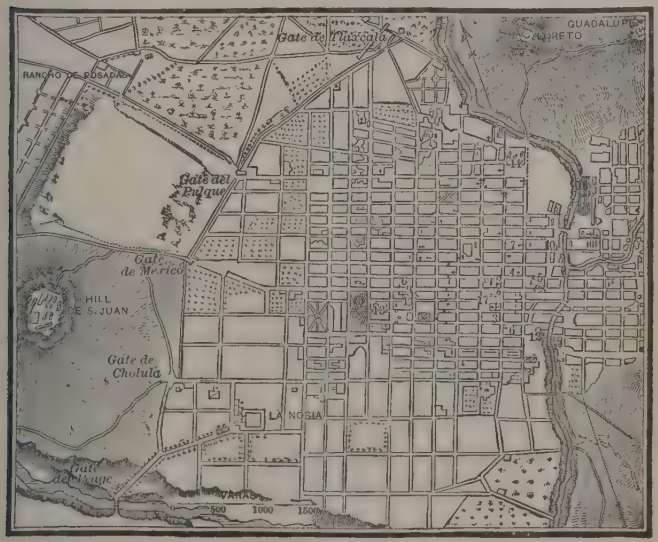
Meanwhile the emissaries of the reactionist party had been actively at work in the interior, fomenting rebellion and tampering with the loyalty of the troops. On the 19th of April a pronunciamiento was issued at Córdoba, wherein the authority of Juarez was denied, and General Almonte recognized as the head of the republic, the latter issuing a manifesto, calling on his countrymen to assist him in establishing, with the aid of the French, a more stable and trustworthy government.

At first Juarez had intended to prolong negotiations until the approach of the rainy season, when fever and malaria would force the invaders to retire; but this hope being frustrated, he adopted vigorous measures for defence, calling all the citizens to arms, and despatching a strong corps of observation toward the coast.

On the 4th of May a French division, 6,000 strong, under command of General Lorencez, encamped in sight of Puebla. On the following day was fought, in front of that city, a battle that will ever be memorable in the annals of the nation, the anniversary of this triumph being thenceforth numbered among the festal days of the republic.

Puebla de los Angeles, the second city of the republic in im-

portance, was the midway station on the road from Mexico to Vera Cruz, and mistress of the vast and fertile plains that intervened. Founded a few years after the conquest on the ruins of an ancient settlement, in the eighteenth century it rivalled the capital, not only in size, but in architectural beauty, which was brought into relief by its numerous plazas, filled with flowers and shrubbery, and running fountains fed by the

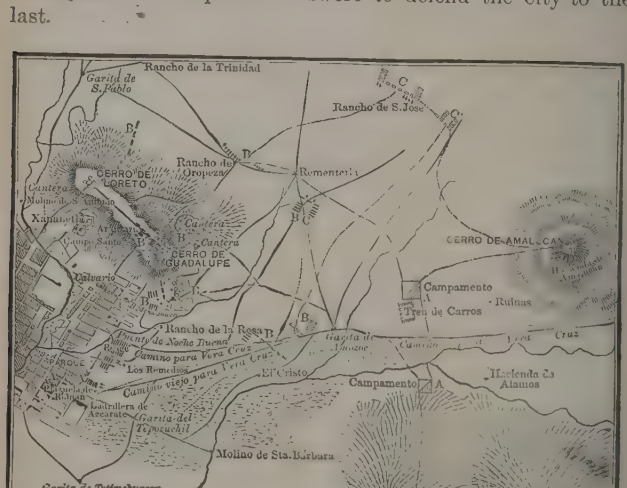


PUEBLA.

1. Cathedral.
2. Palace.
3. Episcopal Palace.
4, 5, 6, 7. Hospitals and Asylums.
8. Academy of Fine Arts.
9. Presidio.
10, 11. Theatres.
12, 13. Bull-rings.
14. Barrack.
15, 16. Parks.
17. Main Plaza.

surrounding streams. Its wealth and position had frequently gathered around it the vultures of war, and fortifications had been constructed, fringed by a series of yet unfinished outworks, among them being the fort of Loreto, and the intrenchments around the chapel of Guadalupe, on an oblong hill, commanding the city.

Calling his generals together, Zaragoza, the commander-in-chief of the Mexicans, represented to them the danger menacing their country, and the disgrace of allowing an invading army, however formidable, to advance unchecked on the capital. "If we cannot defeat them, we can at least cripple them," he argued. In response all swore to defend the city to the last.



THE FIELD OF CINCO DE MAYO.

The Mexican forces consisted of five brigades, the first under Escobedo, to whom was intrusted the interior line of defences, the second under Negrete, who covered the fortifications of Loreto and Guadalupe, and three others, each about 1,000 strong, under Diaz, Berriozábal, and Lamadrid, drawn up in parallel lines along the eastern front of the city, which, it was supposed, would be the objective point of attack.

Instead of advancing against the east front, however, Lorencez made a detour toward the north, and opened with round shot on Guadalupe, but at too long range to take effect. Zaragoza replied with a brisk fire, and ordered up Berriozábal's brigade, with Lamadrid in close support, leaving Diaz to cover the east line. Thereupon the French advanced in three columns, the first directed against the hill, supported at some distance by the second, and the third against Diaz.

The configuration of the ground enabled the leading column to advance, with but few casualties, to within a hundred yards of the intrenchments, and then, in the face of a tremendous grape and musketry fire, in front and flank, it pushed forward to the summit and prepared to rush on the battery. At this juncture, Berriozábal's regiments, which lay concealed behind the crest, rose like a living wall, and delivered a withering volley at point-blank range, which threw the enemy's ranks into confusion. A bayonet charge drove them in disorder down the hill, and on reaching its base their discomfiture was completed by the onslaught of Álvarez's cavalry.

But the second column advanced to their support, giving time for the leading division to rally, when both pushed forward to the base of the rampart, though under a raking fire which filled the ditches with their dead and dying, while over this human bridge the living still pressed onward. The battalion in charge of the parapet, composed of raw recruits, fell back before the assailants; but the reserve so effectually enfilladed the position that the storming party wavered, and a momentary diversion was created. At this moment a gallant charge was made by one of the San Luis battalions, supported by the recruits, whose ranks had already been re-formed. And now the very heavens seemed to participate in the fray; for the lowering clouds poured down rain in torrents, and the incline, slippery with mud and gore, refused a foothold to the invaders, who were driven in headlong rout toward the camp.

Meantime the third column had attacked the eastern front of the city, defended by the brigade of Diaz. His first line was

Battle in Front of Puebla.

driven in, but deploying to the right, free play was allowed for the artillery, while the Guerrero battalion made a dash against the French left. This being repulsed, Diaz ordered a simultaneous advance against both flanks, in support of a charge, led by himself, against the enemy's front. Reserving his fire until the troops were within close range, he delivered a shattering volley along the entire line, and then led his men to the charge. The enemy broke and fled, pressed hotly by their assailants, until they were driven beyond a neighboring canal, where they rallied and continued their retreat.

The two armies faced each other until seven o'clock in the evening, when the French returned to their camp, and thence, on the 8th, retreated to Orizaba, there to await the arrival of re-enforcements which were on their way from France.

In this engagement Lorencez admits a loss of 476 men, while by the Mexicans, who collected the dead and wounded on both sides, it was estimated at 1,000. The casualties of the latter were reported at 240 in killed, wounded, and missing. The medals and decorations found on the battle-field, together with those taken from the captives, were forwarded to the capital; but Juarez returned them, and ordered the captives sent back to the French lines, provided with money for their journey.

On the 7th and 8th Zaragoza's army was re-enforced by two divisions, mustering in all 6,000 men, whose arrival, a day or two earlier, would have rendered still more decisive the victory known throughout Mexico as El Cinco de Mayo, or the Fifth of May.

Though not discouraged by this reverse, Napoleon foresaw that to establish imperialism in Mexico would be a task more difficult than he had at first imagined. Re-enforcements were therefore despatched under General Forey, with instructions to enlist under his standard all the Mexican troops that could be induced to join him, and then form a provisional government, for the purpose of submitting to the people a new political system, framed, of course, with a view to French influence and ascendency.

General Forey well understood what was expected of him; and in his manifesto, issued in September, took pains to conceal, under the plea of civilization and progress, his designs for invasion and conquest. In March 1863, he appeared before Puebla at the head of more than 26,000 men, and with an ample supply of siege artillery and ammunition. Here it had been determined to arrest the advance of the enemy, and vigorous preparations had been made for defence, the city being encircled by nine outworks, mounted with 200 cannon, and protected by ditches and ramparts, while the inner line consisted of blocks of fortified buildings, connected by barricades, and centring around the massive walls of convents and churches. The garrison now consisted of about 22,000 men, termed the Army of the East, under command of General Ortega.

The French opened fire with 58 pieces of artillery, and approaching the outer defences with an elaborate network of trenches, captured the redoubt of San Javier at the extreme west of the town. Breaches were then opened through the inner line, the success of the assailants at first creating no little consternation among the besieged. At this juncture, General Diaz, who commanded one of the infantry brigades, was ordered to take charge of the most exposed quarter, adjoining the captured fort. Here he planned a new system of intrenchments; but before it was completed, the French were upon him, each stroke of bar and pick being accompanied with the crumbling of walls, while round shot came crashing through the meson San Márcos, which formed one of the strongest points in the interior line of defence. Then toward nightfall several companies of zouaves made a dash at the principal breach, driving back the defenders to the inner court.

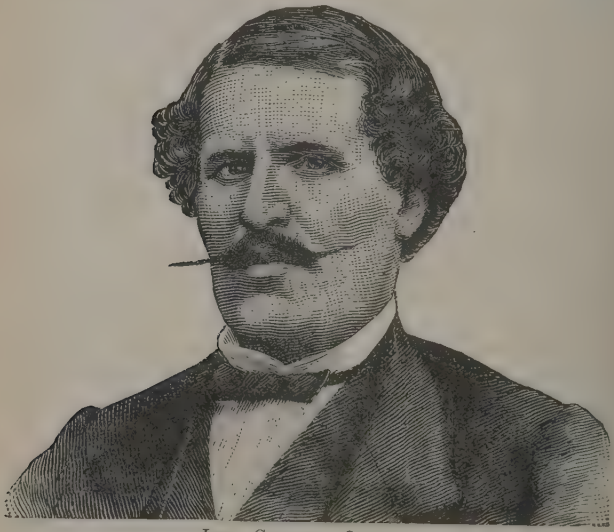
In the centre of the court, near the fountain, stood a single piece of cannon which commanded the entrance. Eager to save this position, Diaz sprang toward the gun, and finding it unloaded, charged it with his own hands, tearing up the paving-stones for projectiles. "Clear the way!" he cried to his

men; and as the zouaves pushed forward, discharged it at close range, carrying destruction into the enemy's ranks. The storming party was then driven back at the point of the bayonet, and by ten o'clock the building was regained, the breaches made by the artillery being repaired during the night. But close beyond the fight was still maintained, and again at the critical moment Diaz came up, his presence restoring confidence to the wavering troops. Here all night long the contest raged with varying success, and not until after daybreak were the assailants finally repulsed and the damages partially repaired.

Soon after the reveille the assault was renewed, being directed first against the Calle de Cholula, where Colonel Gonzalez, later president of the republic, held out manfully although wounded, and with the aid of Diaz repelled the attack. San Marcos was also assailed, but without result, except further to strew the ground with dead and wounded. Elsewhere the French were repulsed, and after repeated failures, all further attempts in this direction were abandoned. On the 25th of April, little impression having been made on the enemy's works, a council of war was summoned, at which Forey proposed to suspend operations until heavier siege guns could be procured, or until after the capture of Mexico. His proposition was rejected as hazardous and inglorious, and operations were directed against the southern quarter, as the most vulnerable point in the lines of the besieged. Even here little progress was made, however, Diaz with a portion of his brigade, now relieved from pressure, coming to the rescue wherever danger was most threatening.

Discouraged by these reverses, Forey invited the commander-in-chief to a conference, and to his aide-de-camp — for Ortega declined to meet him in person — pointed out the hopelessness of protracting a defence which had already been prolonged further than was required by military usage, and apparently for the sole purpose of winning renown. If such was the case, he need not hesitate; fame should be his, and in

the cause of humanity he might now resign the struggle with unsullied reputation. Ortega was required only to concede a little to the prestige of a French general, and honorable terms of capitulation would be granted. Sooner or later the city must be surrendered, for already the garrison was sorely in need of provisions and ammunition. Yet more: the wily Frenchman even offered him the presidency, promising to



JESUS GONZALEZ ORTEGA.

support him with his army, and made certain propositions which if accepted would bring about a settlement of the questions at issue. Should these conditions be rejected, he requested an interview with Ortega at such time and place as the latter might designate. To all this the Mexican commander replied that since the general's proposals involved French intervention in the affairs of Mexico, they could not be entertained, and that for himself he declined a conference.

In the lines defended by Diaz and others, subterranean galleries had been made, for the purpose of blowing up the buildings occupied by the French; but though the mines were completed, there was no powder wherewith to charge them. Toward the end of April provisions were entirely consumed, horses, mules, and even dogs being devoured by the starving garrison, and even of these, a few days later, there were none remaining.

On the morning of the 8th of May heavy firing was heard in the direction of San Lorenzo, and for a moment the garrison was cheered with the hope that Comonfort was advancing to their relief at the head of the army of the centre. It was indeed Comonfort; but he had not even hinted that his movement would be made by way of San Lorenzo. Hence no effort was made to support him, and on the following day Ortega received a despatch from the French general, announcing the defeat of the Mexicans. Nevertheless the defence was continued for a week longer, until there remained neither ammunition nor any scrap of food, the only rations served out to the garrison being an extract made from orange leaves.

Finally, on the 17th of May, a general assault being ordered, of which due notice had been sent to Ortega, the garrison surrendered at discretion, terms of capitulation being refused. If we can believe the historian of the expedition, the number of prisoners amounted to 12,500, including 26 generals and more than 1,500 commissioned officers, many having deserted, while most of the cavalry cut their way through the enemy's lines. On the side of the French the casualties exceeded 1,300, of whom 185 were killed, and many were fatally wounded.

The large number of captives made it impossible to provide a sufficient escort, and Diaz availed himself of the first opportunity to escape, his example being followed by many of the officers, all of whom had refused to sign paroles. On reaching Mexico he was received with a tumultuous ovation, for his exploits at Puebla had already been noised abroad throughout

the country. Offered by the president his choice of the command of an army corps or the position of minister of war, "I thank your Excellency," he replied, "but my age alone would arouse discontent among older and more deserving officers, and perhaps endanger the cause by tempting them to disaffection."

Encouraged by the bold resistance offered at Puebla, Comonfort prepared to make a stand in defence of the capital; but as he could muster only 14,000 men, inferior to Ortega's corps in arms and equipments, it was resolved to spare the city the horrors of a bombardment, and to remove the seat of government to San Luis Potosí, there to devise means for a more effectual resistance. Notwithstanding his scruples, Diaz was appointed to the command, and within three months reported the army in a thorough state of efficiency, submitting to the minister of war his plan for the approaching campaign, wherein he proposed to distract the enemy's attention by a series of operations directed from various points, without risking all on the issue of a single encounter.

On the departure of the liberals the conservative party assumed control in the capital, and openly declared in favor of French intervention. On the 10th of June, Forey entered the capital, and on the 12th issued an address, wherein he declared the military occupation of Mexico an acknowledged fact, and tendered much superfluous advice as to the political issues at stake, in which the words "concord," "fraternity," and "patriotism" were freely interposed. The inhabitants must cease to be either liberals or conservatives and become Mexicans; meaning, as may be presumed, that they should cheerfully and of one accord accept the intervention. Though promising more than he could possibly accomplish, many were cajoled by his specious phrases, believing that after nearly half a century of republican rule and anarchy in guise of republicanism, any change must be for the better.

By decree of June 16, 1863, Forey authorized the nomina-

tion by the emperor's minister of thirty-five Mexican citizens, who were to form a Junta Superior de Gobierno, or governing council, and elect by absolute majority three citizens, in whom should be vested the executive authority. The junta was also empowered to select 215 citizens, without distinction as to rank or class, the latter, in association with the board, forming a so-called Assembly of Notables, which should decide on a definitive form of government, by a majority of at least two thirds of its members.

On the 24th of June, the provisional triumvirate was installed in the persons of Almonte, the figure-head president of the conservatives, the centralist ex-president Salas, and Archbishop Labastida, the last of these appointments tending to reassure the clergy and their sympathizers. With their natural bent for ridicule, the people nicknamed the trio the butterfly of San Juan, composed of Indian, dotard, and saint, denoting the pronounced aboriginal type of Almonte, the decrepitude of Salas, and the sanctity of the archbishop.

The assembly of notables met for the first time on the 8th of July, and two days later declared in favor of a limited monarchy, in the form of an hereditary empire, and in the person of Archduke Maximilian, brother to the emperor of Austria, and a descendant of Charles V., the first sovereign of Mexico. A foreign prince was selected in order to prevent rivalry between contending factions, and to surround the throne with the halo of royal prestige. While England favored his election, the United States was opposed to any European interference in the affairs of the northern continent, though at this juncture it was somewhat doubtful whether their government would ever again be in a position to enter a formal protest.

By the people at large the presence of an invading host and the prospect of a foreign dynasty were regarded with bitter indignation; for not even amid the calamities of civil war had they for a moment lost faith in the republic. The ephemeral

empire of Iturbide, with its abrupt and ghastly episode, had already proved that royalty and viceroyalty would never more find in Mexico an abiding-place; and the weakness of the monarchists was further exemplified by the conservative party, which, with all its wealth, and supported even by the church of Rome, was compelled to appeal for aid to foreigners.

CHAPTER XLIX.

THE EMPEROR MAXIMILIAN

Archduke Ferdinand Maximilian of Hapsburg, or Fernando Maximiliano as he was known in Mexico, was a brother of Franz Joseph, emperor of Austria, being the second son of Archduke Franz Karl and Archduchess Sophie. He was born at the palace of Schœnbrunn on July 6, 1832. After completing his education most creditably, and acquiring several languages, he fitted himself for the naval profession, and to obtain a practical knowledge of its intricacies, he made several sea voyages. In 1854 he was called to the chief command of the Austrian navy. Two years later he visited several nations in western Europe, and during his sojourn in Paris was the guest of Napolean III., a warm friendship springing up between them. Maximilian was wedded in Belgium to Princess Marie Charlotte Amélie, a daughter of King Leopold I., and his queen, Louise of Orleans. Some time after, he sailed for Brazil, leaving his bride to await his return at Madeira. When they went back home the emperor called him to fill the responsible position of governor-general of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom, in which he acquitted himself with so much wisdom and moderation as to gain the good-will of the discontented Italians, as well as the approval of foreign governments, if not of his own. This was to be expected, from the fact that liberalism clashed with the despotism then controlling affairs in Austria.

Maximilian was a constant worker, and besides attending to his official duties, spent many hours in preparing important works on scientific, artistic, and literary subjects.

The choice of a prince for the throne of Mexico having, by the request of the notables, devolved on Napoleon, he tendered it to Maximilian, which being indorsed by Eng-

land, and tacitly approved by Austria, his mission being, as the French put the matter, to replace the tyranny of Juarez by an empire.

The Juarez government attempted to counteract the measures of the imperialists by promises and threats. In the political circulars addressed to local authorities and foreign powers, the proposed empire was declared an infringement of national rights, and a cloak to cover the designs of the French to transform Mexico into a colony. The anger of the people was roused, moreover, by a publication of the outrages inflicted on sacred institutions, on feeble women, and on defenceless prisoners. As to the result of the invasion, it was declared that the French, already humbled by their reverses before Puebla, could not long withstand a nation which had driven from its soil the more powerful armaments of Spain.

In August 1863, the imperial columns, mustering 35,000 strong, still encircled the capital, their position extending along the highway to Vera Cruz, and occupying sixty towns and villages. They were veteran troops,—men who had displayed amidst the battle-fields of Europe and Algiers all the bravery inherent to their race,—and commanded by able and experienced officers. The ranks of the liberals were composed mainly of raw recruits, badly armed and equipped, and led by generals who seldom acted in concert.

On the spot where, three centuries and a half before, Cortés had received, as the representative of Charles V., the homage of Montezuma's embassy, accompanied by his wife, Carlotta of Belgium, landed Maximilian, amidst the pomp and circumstance accorded to his position. "I care not for words but for hearts," he said to Mejía, who received him at Vera Cruz, and the manly and intelligent expression of his features reflected the kindness of his soul. But though a scholar and a prince, he was not a leader of men; and while brave and chivalrous, he lacked the energy needed in one who assumes control of a nation.

The arms of the republic met with a series of reverses, the

advance of the imperialists being checked, however, by the operations of Porfirio Diaz. On the 17th of January, 1865, General Bazaine established his headquarters in the neighborhood of Oajaca, his force mustering about 12,000 strong, of of which perhaps one third consisted of Mexican auxiliaries. Diaz had at his command some 3,000 regulars, and of guerillas about the same number.

MAXIMILIAN.

Penned in this stronghold, the ranks of the Mexicans were rapidly thinned by desertion, not through cowardice, but from a conviction that their cause was hopeless. An instance is related of one Carballido, a lieutenant of artillery, who attempted to leave his post to continue the struggle under a guerilla captain. He was tried by court-martial and condemned to death. "General," pleaded the officer, "I am ready to die; but let me meet death face to face with the foe." Touched by this appeal, Diaz permitted him to rejoin the ranks as a private soldier, and during an expedition in southern Oajaca he was shot through the chest. "My fault is

expiated," he exclaimed, sinking to the ground, as did one of the heroes of the battle of Cold Harbor, whose exploit has been celebrated in verse. The conflict over, his comrades found him amid the slain, with his hand clasped over his heart, it is said, and on his features an expression of content.

On the 8th of February Diaz had but a handful of troops remaining; but with great tenacity of purpose resolved to bury himself amid the ruins of his native city. Planting a single howitzer on the convent of San Francisco, he faced the batteries, and to those who blenched before the withering fire of the enemy, exclaimed, "Hold, my friends; don't show your backs to Frenchmen!" Shot flew thick and fast, striking down the cannoneers, until only one remained, Diaz assisting him in loading the gun, and being almost dragged from the spot by the officers assembled under cover of the parapet.

At length, recognizing that further resistance meant only sacrifice of life, Diaz offered to capitulate. All terms, other than unconditional surrender, were refused, whereupon he proceeded to the headquarters of Bazaine, accompanied by two of his officers. "I will not allow you a final victory," he exclaimed. "The place would succumb to the first attack, for it is almost defenceless. I alone am responsible for the resistance offered, and I am now at your disposal. I ask only consideration for my valiant comrades and my native city."

"By yielding sooner," replied the French general, "you might have stood well with the government, and exempt from the charge of high treason against your sovereign."

"I never acknowledged a sovereign," exclaimed Diaz; "and shall ever oppose the enemies of my country."

"Probably so," rejoined Bazaine; "but remember that you have broken the parole given at Puebla."

"It is false," exclaimed Diaz; "I have broken no parole."

Thereupon the commander-in-chief ordered his adjutant to hand him a copy of the oath administered to prisoners of war placed on parole. It read: "I swear to defend the cause of liberty and of my country with all my strength, recognizing

the right of the French to watch me." The general hesitated, and finally took leave of his captive with a courteous bow.

At Puebla the prisoners, with the exception of Diaz and two others, were induced to sign a promise to remain neutral during the war. At this time Baron de Chismandic was in command of the city, and hoping to win over the Mexican to the cause of the empire, offered him his freedom if he would make a public promise not to attempt escape. "My private word is as binding as a public promise," he exclaimed. "Nevertheless, you are a gentleman and my friend," rejoined the other, "and I will trust you to leave the prison at any hour during the day, so long as you return before sunset.'

While awaiting his opportunity, Diaz was in communication with his friends, and it was resolved that on the evening of the 20th of September he should make the attempt. When tattoo sounded, he kept himself in the background, and after dusk slipped out toward the prison wall, over which it had been arranged that a rope should be flung at the least exposed point. On reaching the spot no rope could be found, and a rustling on the roof indicating the approach of a sentinel. Diaz crouched into a corner, holding his breath, and fearing that his friends in the street might attract attention; but the soldier turned, and his footsteps grew fainter in the distance. Again he searched for the rope, and was again disappointed. In this position he remained for several minutes, which seemed to him as hours. But presently a series of taps directed him to the right spot, and climbing the wall, he slid down into the arms of his friends. Then he hastened out of the town before the alarm could be given, and mounting a horse, made his way to southern Puebla, following by-paths, and travelling without a single halt. Nor was this precaution unnecessary; for within a few hours after his escape men were scouring the country in all directions, induced by a reward of $10,000 offered for his capture or proof of his death.

The reverses sustained by Diaz broke up for a time the ranks of the republicans. The imperialists overran the entire

country, except its northern fringe, where the Juarists maintained for a time the shadow of a government, protected less by the shattered remnants of armies than by the wilderness which surrounded it.

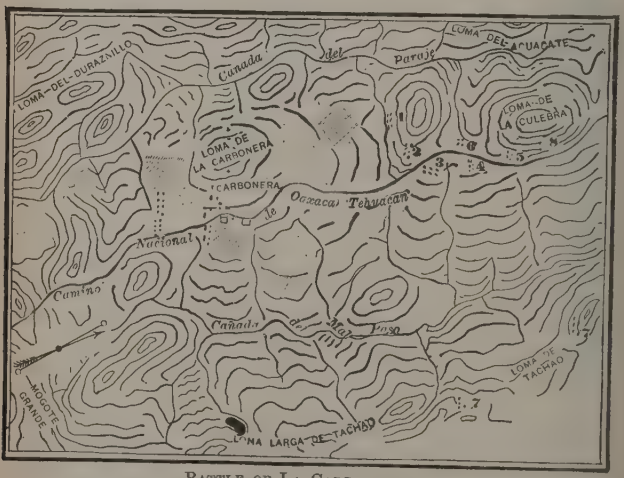
Soon, however, the aspect of affairs was changed when Diaz reappeared on the scene, and at the head of a small force gained victory after victory over the imperialists, directing the operations of guerilla captains until opportunity permitted a combination of their scattered bands for a decisive campaign. In the midst of the imperialist triumphs, moreover, had been received the news of decisive federal victories in the United States, whereby the government at Washington was left with large armies with which to enforce, if necessary, the provisions of the Monroe doctrine. Indeed, the American press already insisted on their enforcement; troops were being massed on the Mexican frontier, while the ministerial attitude toward France was assuming a threatening character.

Thus the eyes of Napoleon were at length opened to the danger of his position, and to the futility of his design for founding a transatlantic empire. Though he might defeat the Mexicans, he could not crush them; for now they were everywhere gathering anew, and in such numbers that they would soon be strong enough to overwhelm their enemies. France had also become alarmed at the prospect of adding humiliation to pecuniary losses, and finally it was found necessary to announce the withdrawal of the troops, to take effect at the beginning of 1867. Wholly unprepared for this blow, Maximilian sent his consort to plead with the emperor; but in vain. Napoleon had done with him; and if the prince desired to continue the struggle, he must do so on his own responsibility. Bound, however, by written stipulations, the former could not withdraw all support, and reluctantly lent his aid to the organization of a national army, with which Maximilian still presented a formidable front, though hampered grievously by want of funds.

Disasters to the arms of the imperialsts led to the surrender,

MONTEREY.

in June 1866, of Matamoros, while Monterey and Saltillo were abandoned as useless. Tampico and Tuxpan yielded in September, and Sonora was evacuated during the same month. Thereupon the French and their allies began a retrograde movement toward the coast, purposing to embark for home, and hotly pursued by the republicans. On the 3d of October, the former suffered a defeat at Miahuatlan, which was followed by another reserve at La Carbonera. On the 31st Oajaca capitulated, and early in March 1867 we find Porfirio Diaz



BATTLE OF LA CARBONERA.

in front of Puebla, which now for the third time during the French invasion became the theatre of war.

The forces of Diaz mustered about 2,500 strong, with only six pieces of artillery, while the garrison included an equal number of veteran troops, supported by the citizen soldiery, the city being protected by eight formidable outworks mounted with more than 100 cannon. Though the former were re-enforced by the division of Álvarez, consisting of 1,500 men, with a few guns, a portion of the command was

afterward despatched to Querétaro, where, as will presently appear, Maximilian was closely besieged. No wonder that even Bazaine paid a tribute of respect to this nimble and ubiquitous leader, who, escaping from prison, had collected and disciplined an army composed of the mere fragments of the republican forces. "But," exclaimed the general, "he will meet his doom, if he attempts the siege of Puebla. I would undertake to defend it with one third of its present garrison." It is probable that if such an officer as Bazaine had been in charge the defence would have been successful, or at least long protracted; but the one in command was General Noriega, a conceited and dull-witted soldier, whose old-school tactics were, however, somewhat modified by the advice of his lieutenant, Quijano, who had won repute during the war with the United States

Establishing his headquarters on the hill of San Juan, about a mile west of the city, Diaz commenced operations, and was allowed to push forward his parallels against the western and southern lines almost without opposition. Steady and sure was the progress of the siege, and point after point was carried by assault. First fell the formidable redoubt of San Javier, which was taken by General Carrion; and this success was followed by the capture of La Merced and of San Márcos, where Gonzalez was severely wounded. Gradually the batteries were advanced nearer and nearer to the works of the besieged, and soon, amid this city of monumental structures, church-walls gaped in unsightly ruins, while shattered turrets were hurled down on crumbling altars, censer fumes gave place to sulphurous smoke, and the crash of falling bells foreboding the doom of an empire.

When victory was almost within their grasp, news reached the camp of the besiegers that Marquez with a strong force of cavalry had escaped from Querétaro, and was about to set forth, at the head of several thousand choice troops, for the relief of Puebla. Diaz fully recognized the threatened danger, for encumbered as he was with an unwieldly train, an attack

in such overwhelming force could not fail to prove disastrous. Still more did he fear the demoralization that attends retreat, and the sacrifice of his own reputation and his hard-won success. Revolving plan after plan, he at length came to a conclusion, and appeared that evening at the mess-table serene as usual, while those around him exchanged stolen glances, and for a time no word was spoken. "Gentlemen," he said, at length breaking the silence, "I have a presentiment that we shall celebrate the anniversary of the 5th of May within or near the capital."

Orders were then given to stop the siege operations, and to make ready for breaking camp. The guns were removed from the batteries, the wagons collected behind the hill of San Juan, and fatigue parties could be seen at work filling sacks with straw and twigs. "What means this?" inquired certain of the soldiers. "They are for bonfires to hide our flight," was the ready response. Meanwhile the Pueblans, who had already been informed as to the movements of Marquez, were frantic with joy. "We wager you are gone to-morrow!" came the sneering cry from the garrison outposts. "These brawlers are right," exclaimed Diaz, when, on the same evening, he summoned a council of war. "We shall not be here to-morrow; we shall be in the city." At first his listeners failed to catch his meaning; but the seeming absurdity was quickly explained when the general unfolded his design.

It was proposed to make a feigned assault on Fort Carmen, the most southerly of the outworks, with a view to attract the attention of the garrison and draw in that direction the reserve. Then a simultaneous attack was to be made on thirteen different points along the west and south-east fronts, so selected that the capture of a portion of them would prepare the way for the storming of the stronger positions. The sacks were intended to be used as fascines in crossing the ditches, and between two towers on the hill of San Juan were stretched on wires a number of cotton strips, dipped in resinous matter, which when lighted were to give the signal for assault.

The plan was approved, and a zealous rivalry arose among the officers for the honor of leading the storming parties, which barely averaged 100 men. To most of the generals was intrusted a detachment, Alatorre, as chief of the first division, taking a command of the reserve, to be used where most it should be needed.

Before daybreak on the 2d of April, Diaz opened fire on fort Carmen, in front of which guns had been unlimbered, and three of the detachments stationed. After a brisk cannonade, the columns advanced in succession, each one retiring in feigned disorder before the storm of grape and canister which swept over their ranks as they ascended the slope of the hill. Then was heard the bugle call, and instantly flames appeared on the summit of the Cerro San Juan, shedding a lurid light over city and valley, and displaying to the startled garrison the numerous storming parties which had quietly crept upon their defenses, and were now rapidly closing around them.

The struggle was brief but desperate, much more so than had been expected, and anxiously, but at first in vain, did the commander-in-chief peer through the smoke of battle, awaiting some token of success. He beheld column after column charge fearlessly on the guns, only to be driven back again and again; he saw Alatorre, at the head of the reserve, hastening to the support of the wavering troops in front of La Merced; while Pacheco, one of his bravest officers, was twice repulsed before Siempreviva. But suddenly a change occurred in the aspect of the fight. Once more Pacheco, though severely wounded and with a crippled arm, led his men to the assault, and at length gaining the battlements, sank with a cry of triumph to the ground. And now the ranks of the besieged broke in disorder; for at the same moment several of the storming parties made good their foothold, and falling simultaneously on the rear of the enemy's lines, drove them back in confusion, many throwing down their arms, and others seeking refuge under the hill fortresses of Loreto and Guadalupe.

The rays of the rising sun slanted athwart the republican

colors, now planted on palace and steeple, though from the guns of San Lorenzo was still maintained for hours a sullen and persistent fire. Batteries were planted at close range around this stronghold, and on the 3d of April a demand was made for an unconditional surrender, with an intimation that the assault was ordered for the following day, when all negotiations would cease. During the night commissioners were sent to the camp of Diaz; but finding that no other terms could be obtained, the general in command tendered his sword. "Retain it, comrade," was the reply; "it has been kept well tempered, and may yet serve the republic."

Thus fell Puebla, in some respects the most formidable of the strongholds which still remained to the imperialists. The achievement of April 2d shook the empire to its foundation, and spread dismay in the capital and in Querétaro, contributing in no small degree to the ultimate triumph of the republican arms.

According to existing decrees, and the practice so far established, all captured officers were to be shot as traitors, even foreigners coming within this category after the withdrawal of the French armies. But to carry out such laws appeared to Diaz a measure revolting to the spirit of the age. He had no authority to hold them as prisoners; and to release them would bring on him the ill-will of the government. Nevertheless, he resolved to take on himself the responsibility, and summoning into his presence the eleven generals and six hundred inferior officers captured at Puebla, "Señores," he said "it is too painful for me; it is impossible to exact the penalty demanded by the law. The only other alternative is imprisonment; but I remember well my own sufferings as a captive in this very spot, and wish to spare you a similar ordeal. Go, therefore; be free! All I ask is the promise that you will hold yourselves at the disposal of the supreme government if summoned. The nation will pass sentence on the empire, but should be lenient to her erring children."

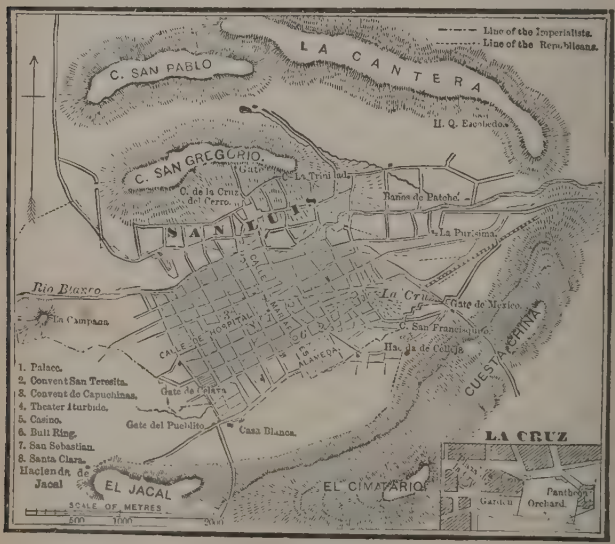
CHAPTER L.

DOWNFALL OF THE EMPIRE.

In order to counteract the effect of the many disasters of the imperialists, Maximilian had been induced to place himself at the head of the army, and on the 13th of February, 1867, set forth from the capital with 1,600 men and twelve pieces of artillery. On the 19th the emperor reached Querétaro, where a considerable force was stationed, and was received with all the enthusiasm to be expected from one of the stanchest of imperial strongholds, and withal of decided clerical proclivities. Lying within a narrow valley, on the southern banks of the Rio Blanco, the city was built in the shape of a quadrangle, about 8,000 feet in length by 4,000 in breadth, the houses being freely interspersed with churches, chapels, convents, and public edifices. It was not only the capital of the state which bears that name, but one of the principal manufacturing centres of the country, sustaining a population of nearly 40,000 souls. For strategic purposes, however, its position was unfavorable; for it was commanded by hills on every side, and the river could be forded at several points.

At a review held a few days after the emperor's arrival the forces at his disposal were found to consist of 9,000 men, including about 600 French, together with 39 pieces of cannon. To General Miramon was given the command of the infantry, of which Castillo and Casanova each received a division, while Mejía was placed in charge of the cavalry, Reyes of the engineers, Arellano of the artillery, and Mendez of the reserve. The troops were of fair quality, though a large proportion consisted of raw levies, forcibly enrolled, and somewhat indifferent as to the cause. They were kept in good humor, however, by the presence and conduct of Maximilian, who gave his personal attention to every detail, mingling freely with the soldiers and

citizens, in plain uniform or national garb, often joining with the crowd, and living like a subaltern officer in two scantily furnished rooms. His coolness under fire excited general admiration; for his commanding stature and his never-absent field-glass made him a conspicuous target for the foe.



PLAN OF QUERÉTARO.

At a council of war held on the 22d of February, it had been decided to march forth from the city and attack the republicans in detail, before they had time to unite their forces. Through the advice of Marquez, however, whose influence outweighed all other considerations, no attempt was made, though at this juncture a determined effort might yet have won victory for the imperial arms. Thus the precious moments were allowed to pass, the troops remaining inactive until the Juarist

forces had invested the city, shutting them up in what the emperor termed their mouse-trap.

On the 5th of March, the republicans, under Escobedo, appeared before Querétaro, at first occupying positions along the southern and western fronts, extending later, as additional troops arrived, toward the north and east, and protected by the batteries constructed on the surrounding hills. Their forces included the army of the north under Treviño, to whom Escobedo had relinquished the immediate command, the army of the west under Corona, and the army of the centre under Régules and Riva Palacio, the last of these corps being among the later arrivals, with the usual admixture of veterans and half-drilled recruits, and with a sprinkling of foreigners, principally Americans, the Juarist array was fully equal in material to that of the imperialists, and before the close of the siege outnumbered them four to one.

The northern lines of the imperialists extended from the Cerro de la Campana, an oblong hill some seventy feet in height, which formed the western apex of their works, toward the Convent of La Cruz, built on a slight elevation, around which was the eastern line of defence. Thence their fortifications ran parallel with the river, along the southern face of the city, turning from its south-west angle toward the Cerro de la Campana. Only a portion of the walls and earthworks had been finished before the siege began, the remainder being completed under a galling fire. The Convent of La Cruz was the key-note to the position, the points next in importance being the bridge of Miraflores Street, crossing the centre of the town, the Campana hill, and the Pueblito gate at the south-east corner, where were the strongest batteries.

Observing that the republicans were extending their lines eastward, Maximilian removed his headquarters to the Convento de la Cruz, which was within short range of the enemy's batteries, and soon became the objective point of attack. This convent, founded in the days of Cortés, had formerly been occupied as a Franciscan college. It was a solid stone edi-

fice of great strength, standing at the lower end of the grounds, which were enclosed with heavy walls, and beside it was a smaller but equally substantial building, known as the Pantheon, the burial-place of the friars.

On the 14th of March a general assault was made on the town in three divisions, the first directed against the bridge of Miraflores, the second against the convent, and the third against the line west of the alameda, a fourth movement, directed against the Campana, being merely a feint. The attack was delivered simultaneously under cover of the batteries, the cavalry advancing against the south side, where, however, they were driven back in disorder by Mejía's squadrons, and in a second attempt were again routed. Meanwhile Castillo defended the bridge with equal spirit, the cazadores especially distinguishing themselves, and earning the title of Zouaves of Mexico. Nevertheless the summit of San Gregorio was captured by one of Treviño's brigades.

The main struggle, however, was in the convent-grounds, where, through some unaccountable negligence, the Pantheon had been left unprotected, and was captured without opposition. The importance of this point was at once recognized by the imperialists, and to regain it, Marquez ordered up his reserve, recapturing the building after a severe struggle and with considerable loss. And now the attack was repulsed at all points, though the besieged made no attempt to follow up their advantage; for already their casualties amounted to 600, while those of the republicans exceeded 1,000 in killed, wounded, and missing.

Then followed days of inaction, during which the project was discussed of cutting through the enemy's lines and marching on the capital; but this was rejected as too hazardous, and it was resolved to continue the defence and await the arrival of re-enforcements. The task of procuring them was intrusted to Marquez, who, escaping by night at the head of 1,200 cavalry, made his way to Mexico, and there demanded the contributions in men, money, and material, promised by the conservative leaders.

The garrison was now reduced to less than 7,000 men, while the besieging forces had been largely increased, whereupon the Juarist leaders resolved on another assault, which was made on the 24th against the south line, where the fortifications were still incomplete. The divisions of Palacio and Martinez, which had arrived a day or two before, were mainly employed in this attempt, under the direction of Corona, as second in command. Amid the play of batteries in every direction, Martinez's column charged bravely on the line west of the alameda; but Miramon was there, supported by Mendez, and after a sharp struggle, the assailants were repulsed.

Meanwhile Palacio was moving in force on the Casa Blanca, which was the real point of attack. The first onset was repelled by Mejía's cavalry; but a second effort was more successful, and advancing with a determined rush, the republicans carried all before them. It was a critical moment; but Arellano saw the danger, and in person trained his guns on the densest masses of the enemy. Again the attacking column wavered, giving time for re-enforcements to arrive from the alameda, whereupon a counter-charge was made by the imperialists with resistless impulse, amid cries of "Viva el emperador!" The Juarists were finally defeated with a loss of 2,000 in killed and wounded, and several hundred prisoners.

After these reverses, the republicans determined to complete the investment of the city and turn the siege into a blockade, though still maintaining a perpetual bombardment. By the imperialists relief was hourly expected; but the days passed away in ever-increasing suspense, and in vain did they scan the horizon and listen for the sound of firing toward the south, which should herald the approach of Marquez. As if to mock their hopes, came news of his defeat, of the fall of Puebla, and of the investment of the capital by the republicans, though all these disasters were kept a secret, except among the most trusted officers of Maximilian.

It was now resolved to force a passage through the republican lines, and as a preliminary measure, Miramon planned an

attack on the Cimitario hill, which commanded the southern lines. On the morning of the 27th of April he advanced on this point at the head of 2,000 men, while another column was led by Castillo against the Garita de Mexico, in order to divide the enemy's forces. So resolute and unexpected was the onslaught that the Juarists fell back in disorder, and within an hour the entire army was in full flight, while guns, ammunition, and provision trains were abandoned to the assailants, and thousands dispersed, never to return.

The joy of the imperialists at this unexpected triumph was boundless, and joined by the famished citizens, they began to secure the booty, paying little heed to the retreating foe. Even Miramon appeared to be thunder-struck at his own victory, strutting about the field and pondering over its effect and his future movements. At this juncture it was due to the dispositions and presence of mind of General Corona that a serious disaster was averted. Rallying his troops, he obtained from Escobedo the choicest battalions of his reserve, which he pushed forward to the summit of the hill, and when the imperialist leaders, after losing two precious hours, at length collected their men, they found the enemy occupying a commanding position in their front. Then followed a severe repulse, the assailants being put to rout, notwithstanding the efforts of Maximilian and his generals, with a loss of several hundred men.

Death and desertion had further reduced the ranks of the garrison to 5,000 men, and these were in pitiable plight. The cavalry were for the most part unmounted, their horses having died of starvation or been killed for food. Other meat there was none, and flour and maize were rapidly disappearing, provisions of all kinds commanding enormous prices. It cannot be said, however, that discontent was loudly expressed; for the Mexicans are a long-suffering race, inured to hardship, and the Queretanos patiently bore their fate. The emperor aided not a little in maintaining harmony by sharing freely every hardship and danger, by visiting the hospitals, cheering the sick and wounded, and alleviating as far as possible the sufferings

of the poor. But soon it became evident that the defence could not be much longer maintained, and again it was determined to break through the enemy's lines and make for the ranges of the Sierra Gorda, where were impregnable strongholds, occu-

RAMON CORONA.

pied by a sturdy race of mountaineers, all of them followers of Mejía. On the 14th of May all was in readiness, and the last scanty distribution had been made of beans and maize, horse-flesh, and red wine, other baggage being reduced to the smallest compass, and only the lightest field-pieces and a few portable bridges being carried on the backs of mules.

Among the most favored of the imperialist officers was Miguel Lopez, a tall, portly man of imposing presence, and a colonel in the Empress dragoons. Cashiered for infamous conduct at Tehuacan during the war with the United States, he was employed in 1863 as a spy in the Franco-Mexican army. One of Maximilian's escort when first he landed at Vera Cruz, his suave courtesy and polished address rapidly won for him preferment, and in 1867 he was intrusted with secret missions by the emperor, who had even become sponsor for his child.

But the good graces of Maximilian had roused against Lopez the jealousy of the Mexicans, and the treasonable acts of which he stood accused further increased their dislike. When, therefore, the emperor proposed to confer on him the rank of general, the leading officers protested, and exposed his former career. The confidence of Maximilian remained unshaken, however, for he appointed him to the command of his own escort, and on the eve of departure presented him with a medal, although no claim existed for such a distinction, or for the cross of the legion of honor which already decorated his breast.

Lopez was not entirely devoid of gratitude; but gratitude was not his ruling passion. More revengeful even than Benedict Arnold, he could not forgive a slur, and mercenary as the archtraitor, he found at length an opportunity to satisfy at once his hatred and his greed. Moreover, the empire was doomed, and as for himself he was already branded as a criminal.

On the night of the 14th of May, the colonel stole forth from the city, and repairing to the headquarters of Escobedo, disclosed to him the design of the imperialists, and for a certain sum of gold agreed to betray them to the enemy. The treachery could be consummated with little difficulty, for Lopez was now in charge of the reserve, stationed at the Convento de la Cruz. Already he had removed a portion of his troops, replacing them with men under the command of a fellow-con-

spirator, and on returning from the republican camp, he made further changes, ordering the horses to be unsaddled and the cannon removed. Then he admitted to the convent-grounds a detachment of Juarist troops under General Velez, and under cover of darkness led them from post to post, explaining to the officers on guard that they were a portion of the relieving force.

When the city had thus been delivered over to the republicans, Lopez sent warning to the emperor and certain of his generals, for whom, it would appear, he had provided means of escape. Maximilian at once summoned his body-guard, and ordered those around him to hasten to the Cerro de la Campana, there to decide on further action. Then, in company with Castillo and others, he crossed the convent-grounds, and in the plaza beyond was confronted by a party of Juarists, at the head of whom was Lopez. Escape was impossible; but a whisper from the traitor to the officer in command caused the latter to open his ranks, saying to his men, "Let them pass; they are civilians."

On their way to the Cerro, Lopez overtook them, on this occasion alone and still unsuspected. He entreated Maximilian to hide himself in a certain house, where his safety would be assured. "I do not hide," exclaimed the emperor, who even refused to mount the horse which Lopez ordered to be sent to him, remarking that as his companions must walk he would accompany them on foot.

At daybreak the city was completely in possession of the Juarists. A feeble resistance was made; but soon the republican ranks surrounded the Cerro, upon which fire was opened from their batteries. "Oh, for a friendly bullet!" exclaimed Maximilian, as he beheld the darkening prospect. Then turning to Mejía, he proposed to cut their way through the enemy's ranks. "It is useless, sire," exclaimed the latter, as he surveyed the dense array of the republicans; "yet if your Majesty commands, it can be tried." A moment later the white flag was hoisted; and as the emperor gave up his sword,

he declared that his abdication had already been sent to Mexico, and that he was prepared to leave the country. To this Escobedo replied that the republican government could alone decide as to his disposal.

Little heed was paid to the exalted rank and pretensions of the captive, who was lodged in a scantily furnished chamber in the Capuchin convent, his generals, Miramon and Mejía, occupying adjoining cells. A few days afterward an order arrived from the minister of war to arraign the "so-called emperor," and his two leading abettors, the "so-called generals," Miramon and Mejía, before a court-martial, under a decree of January 25, 1862, whereby traitors and invaders of the soil were declared amenable to death.

The trial opened on the 13th of June, in the Iturbide theatre, the stage being reserved for the officials, the prisoners, and their counsel, while the auditorium was crowded with spectators. The members of the court-martial consisted of a lieutenant-colonel and six captains, some of them unfitted to decide on the weighty questions involved. Mejía and Miramon were first summoned before the court, and the dignity of their bearing deeply impressed the audience. Their case was disposed of in a few hours, and then came that of Maximilian, who pleaded sickness, in order to spare himself the humiliation of appearing in public.

The charges, thirteen in number, may be reduced in substance to the following points: That he had placed himself at the head of the French intervention, aiming at the overthrow of constitutional government, and playing the part of a usurper; that at the head of an armed force, swelled by foreign enlistments, he had disposed of the lives and liberty of the people, permitting outrages of every description; that he had retained his assumed title of emperor after the departure of the French armies, signing an abdication which was to take effect only in case of his capture; and that he had protested against the jurisdiction of the court, refusing at his preliminary examination to answer the charges brought against him, on the ground that they were of a political character.

To influence a court-martial summoned under the decree of 1862, and consisting of men whose reputation could not suffer by implicit obedience to the orders of their superior officers, was of course a hopeless task. The arguments of counsel were therefore directed mainly against the jurisdiction of the court. It was urged that the conflict between the empire and the republic was a civil war, and not a mere party uprising, for the former had long controlled the greater portion of the country, and had been recognized by several foreign powers. This being the case, the prisoner could not be treated as a rebel; nor was he a usurper, for he had come by invitation of a representative council, confirmed by popular vote. The measures of his administration, his liberal policy, and the entire absence of persecution for political creed or attitude proved that he had not come as an oppressor, and after the withdrawal of the French armies, he had remained only to prevent a new government from being forced upon the people.

These arguments had little weight with the members of the court, who ignored the claims of Maximilian to be treated as a prisoner of war, and within a few hours after the conclusion of the trial passed sentence of death on all the captives. On the 16th the sentence was confirmed by Escobedo, and the execution ordered for three o'clock on the afternoon of the same day. Meantime petitions for mercy came pouring in from all directions, the ambassadors of several foreign powers exerting themselves to the utmost, but without avail. The ostensible reasons for refusal were that Maximilian would renew his pretensions, and that to extend pardon in such a case would afford a dangerous precedent. Among the real reasons were the jealousy of foreign interference and dictation, and the desire to show that Mexico could act independently. It was also flattering to national vanity thus to aim a blow at the divine right of kings, by putting to death a prince so widely connected among European rulers. The most effectual intercession would doubtless have come from the United States; but except for instructing its minister to recommend a humane

policy, the government of that country remained passive, though such men as Garibaldi and Victor Hugo pleaded earnestly in his favor.

On the morning of the 16th Maximilian and his companions prepared for death, and after partaking of the communion, stood awaiting the escort, the former in converse with his attendants and the latter with their confessors. The moment arrived, but no guard appeared; and an hour later an officer came to announce that a reprieve had been granted by the government until the 19th, in order to give them time to settle their affairs. "It is a pity," exclaimed the prince; "for I was prepared to have done with this world." During this interval came a report that the Princess Carlotta was dead. At first Maximilian was deeply affected; but soon his grief gave way to resignation, and he exclaimed: "It is one bond the less holding me to life."

At six o'clock on the morning of the 19th the condemned were driven in carriages, each with his confessor by his side, to the Cerro de la Campana. The site was guarded by a large body of troops, who had orders to keep at a distance the vast throng of people, most of the latter being loud in their expressions of sympathy. Stepping lightly from his carriage, the prince walked with unfaltering step to the spot assigned for his execution, in front of a shattered wall, which like the adjacent fields and slopes bore evidence of cruel conflict. "Ah, what a splendid day!" he observed; "I always wished to die on such a day." Then turning to Miramon, who stood on the right, he remarked as he placed him in the centre: "A brave soldier is always respected by his sovereign; permit me to yield to you the place of honor." Bidding adieu to Mejía, he said: "General, what has not been rewarded on earth will be in heaven." After distributing some gold pieces among the soldiers detailed for the firing platoons, he bade them fire straight at his heart, exclaiming in a firm voice: "May my blood be the last shed in sacrifice for this country; and if more is required, may it be for the good of the nation, and never on account of treason."

With equal composure, Miramon uttered a few words protesting against the imputation of treason, and Mejía, at first unnerved by sickness, but now recovering himself, exclaimed:

RURAL GUARD.

"Viva Mexico, viva el Emperador!" The signal was then given, and the prince and his generals fell simultaneously, Miramon dying instantly, while a second shot was needed for Mejía and for Maximilian, who received a bullet through the heart, as he faintly whispered the word "hombre."

In accordance with the wishes of Maximilian, his body was embalmed and conveyed to the chapel of San Andrés in Mexico, there to await the arrival of a formal requisition from Austria. In November it was placed on board the same vessel which three years before had carried the unfortunate prince to his adopted country and to his doom. He had requested that his remains be laid side by side with those of Carlotta; but the princess, deprived of reason by accumulated misfortunes, still lived her living death.

That the empire had a legal existence by virtue of a large vote among those who expected from it a more orderly and prosperous administration of affairs, is generally admitted. Unfortunately, the new government was established on an insecure foundation; Maximilian failed to understand the people, or rather his sphere among the people, and was shackled by the weight of foreign armies and foreign interests. Though in favor of progress and reform, he lacked the means and the qualities to enforce them, and wasted his energies in futile and misdirected efforts. To control the various and ever-struggling factions required a strong arm and a resolute will, combined with subtilety and discrimination, none of which qualifications the prince possessed. Nevertheless he atoned to some extent for his errors and his weakness by standing firm to his party in the hour of trial; and it was in no vain spirit of boastfulness that he declared in a dying message to the dearest of his earthly friends: "I have done my duty as a soldier."

PART VI.—THE GROWTH AND CONDITION OF THE REPUBLIC.

CHAPTER LI.

ADMINISTRATIONS OF PRESIDENTS JUAREZ, LERDO, DIAZ, GONZALEZ, AND DIAZ AGAIN.

After the surrender of Querétaro, the siege of the capital was pressed with firmer persistence, a strict blockade being maintained, and soon the inhabitants began to suffer from scarcity of food. In vain did Marquez with 6,000 men attempt to break through the enemy's lines. Met by Diaz in person at the head of two brigades, he was driven back under a heavy fire, and soon afterward the arrival of new army corps made further sallies hopeless.

Like Puebla, Mexico could easily be carried by assault; but knowing that the city must soon be reduced by famine, Diaz forbore to spill blood unnecessarily, directing the fire of his artillery only against fortified positions. With the prospect of surrender near at hand and now inevitable, offers of submission were freely tendered by imperialist leaders, on condition of receiving a pardon not liable to be revoked by the government; but the commander-in-chief declined thus to encroach on the prerogatives of Juarez.

At length, on the 20th of June, the garrison surrendered at discretion, all other terms being refused. Thereupon strict orders were issued that none should enter or depart without permission, special corps being detailed for police service, and judges and municipal authorities appointed. Meanwhile provisions were distributed among the starving citizens, and means of transport placed at their disposal. Quarters were

assigned to the prisoners according to their rank, with due regard to their comfort and freedom from espionage, and all civil and military officers above a certain rank were ordered to tender their submission under penalty of death.

During the wars of the intervention and of the empire, commencing in April 1863, and ending in June 1867, there occurred 1,020 engagements and skirmishes, in which 73,547 Mexican republicans and 12,209 Mexican imperialists were

General Juan N. Mendez.

placed hors de combat. If to these figures be added the casualties which occurred among the Austro-Belgian contingent, mustering about 7,500 strong, it is probable that at least 40,000 lives were sacrificed to the ambition of Napoleon III., during his vain effort to foist on the nation imperial rule, and ending with his shameful desertion of the prince whom he had himself appointed to the throne.

On the 15th of July Juarez made his entry into Mexico, and on the same day issued a manifesto, stating that during his four years' absence from the capital he had contracted no

obligations prejudicial to the independence and sovereignty of the republic, the integrity of her empire, and the respect due to her laws and constitution.

On entering the capital, Juarez received an address from the municipal commission, thanking him for his forbearance, and for his scrupulous consideration of the rights and property of others. The moderation which he had displayed during the

JUAREZ'S RESIDENCE AT PASO DEL NORTE.

war was also acknowledged, a war accompanied until recently with revolting outrages, with forced levies of men, with greedy extortion of funds, with the sack of defenceless cities, and with the relentless butchery of prisoners.

To Diaz, however, belonged the military honors attending the re-establishment of Mexican independence. With a single army corps he had regained possession of the south by a series of hard-fought campaigns, and then swept the central provinces, among his achievements being the taking of Puebla, the route of Marquez, and the capture of Mexico. Soon afterward fell Vera Cruz, the last stronghold of imperialism; and then the channels of trade were reopened, and the country once more resumed its normal condition.

Among the first measures of the Juarez administration was a reduction in the four army corps named Centro, Oriente, Norte, and Occidente, into divisions, each of 4,000 men; while a fifth division under Álvarez was ordered to garrison Acapulco. This measure, which reduced to poverty two thirds of those who had fought the battles of the republic against imperialism, aroused the indignation of the soldiery; but the president preferred the welfare of his country to that of his army, and firmly insisted on the reduction.

The discretionary powers invested in Juarez were applied by him to several purposes in promoting his country's welfare, as in the construction of railroads, and the founding of schools of jurisprudence, engineering, mechanic arts, and agriculture. The government had the opportunity of carrying out its intended reforms; but the reorganization of the several administrative departments was a wearisome task, and much pruning was needed to retain in office only competent and reliable men.

In December 1867 Juarez was re-elected to the presidency, and during his second term political disturbances were of frequent occurrence, lasting almost until the day of his death. Insurrections broke out in several of the states, and in Yucatan there was a serious outbreak, the insurgents, even after being several times defeated, continuing to harass the various settlements. There was also sedition in Guerrero, Puebla, Vera Cruz, Mexico, Querétaro, Jalisco, Sinaloa, and elsewhere, the most formidable of these movements being headed by Miguel Negrete, though none were successful.

Early in 1868 the feeling of insecurity assumed alarming proportions, robbery, kidnapping, and murder being of frequent appearance. The year 1869 opened under more favorable auspices. Liberal institutions were becoming more firmly rooted; the administration was reorganized; material improvements were pushed forward; and it was hoped that no further serious outbreaks would occur; but the hope was in vain. Revolutions broke out at Puebla and San Luis Potosí; and

though both were suppressed, and the passing of an amnesty law in October 1870 tended for a time to restore order, the approach of the presidential election again threw the country into a turmoil.

The choice lay between Juarez, Diaz, and Lerdo de Tejada, as the principal contestants, and the votes were respectively and in the order mentioned 5,837, 3,555, and 5,874. It was provided, however, in the constitution that an absolute majority of the total vote must be given in favor of the successful candidate, and the Lerdists siding with the Juarists gave to the latter the election.

The followers of Diaz protested against the legality of the choice, and threatened armed opposition; but their leader protested against bloodshed, or even a display of force directed against a former comrade and a patriot. Several of the states, however, took up the matter in earnest, and as the chosen leader of the party, Diaz could no longer resist the movement. The banners of his supporters were unfurled in all directions, and once more there was civil war, in which many battles were fought, with varying success, among the victims being General Felix Diaz, brother of Porfirio, and a soldier who had already won repute during the campaigns against the French.

In the midst of the conflict occurred the death of Juarez, who in October 1870 was seized with an attack of brain fever, from which he rallied, though already he had a presentiment that his end was near, and in conversing with his friends expressed regret that his span of life would not be so far prolonged as to afford him an opportunity of reconstructing the affairs of his country. On the 18th of July, 1872, the president retired to his home at an earlier hour than was his custom, intending to pass a portion of the following day in walking through the forest of Chapultepec, which exercise, together with an early bath, usually relieved his ailments. At night he was attacked with heart disease, and though every remedy known to science was applied, at eleven o'clock he breathed his last, surrounded by his family and friends.

As minute-guns proclaimed that the spirit of the great chieftain had departed, there was a feeling of profound sorrow throughout the capital, and there remained only the recollection of his firmness as the standard-bearer of liberty, his unfaltering faith in his mission, and his many noble qualities of mind and heart. If he had encroached somewhat on national rights, and occasionally committed infringements of constitutional law, such acts were attributed rather to his advisers than to himself. Meanwhile he had borne abuse with admirable resignation, and had neither displayed malice against his foes, nor boasted of his triumphs, nor shown harshness toward vanquished enemies. Temporizing and petty wrangling he disdained; traditional dictates he ignored; and intent on carrying out his duty and his policy, he set himself firmly against those who attempted to thwart his course. By his tenacity of purpose he sustained the republic during the darkest period of the struggle with the French. During this contest it may be said that while the former represented the cause of the republic, the latter was its champion and avenging arm. A country grateful to both has erected in honor of the former a monument more stable than all the sculptured cenotaphs of European monarchs; and while eternal night enshrouds his form, the deeds and character of Juarez will ever be engraven on the page of history.

Upon the death of President Juarez, Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, as president of the supreme court, became the chief executive ad interim of the republic, and pursuant to the constitution caused elections for the presidency to take place. On the 16th of December, 1872, congress, declaring the result of the elections, proclaimed that Lerdo had been chosen president for the unexpired portion of Juarez's term by 9,520 votes, against 604 for Diaz, and 136 for other candidates.

Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada entered into office with all the éclat attached to his career as an able minister. In youth he had studied for the church; but afterward adopting the profession of law, he became a bitter opponent of the clergy.

This change was due to principle rather than to policy; he was a man who held control of himself, and was in some respects well fitted for the command of others. But Lerdo's course found little favor with the people; for when making before congress the customary protestations of loyalty and patriotism, he made no allusion to the banner-cries of the liberal party, among which were freedom of suffrage and the restriction of the presidency to a single term. For this, among other reasons, his administration proved a disappointment.

LERDO DE TEJADA.

The nation had expected that a new cabinet would be formed, composed of Lerdists and supporters of Diaz, and a change of ministry, effected by the pressure of public opinion, would have been almost equivalent to a peaceful revolution. According to the principles proclaimed in a recent pronunciamiento, it was illegal for Lerdo to assume the office of president, since, as was alleged, Juarez had usurped the presidency.

Toward the Diaz party Lerdo displayed a marked hostility, and in his opening speech he disappointed, by vague promises, the expectations of members of congress, who had hoped for vigorous measures, and for the reform of manifold abuses.

Thus he roused the enmity of the people whom he had sworn to serve.

On the 1st of August, 1872, Manuel Lozada, who held almost despotic sway in the district of Tepic, issued a proclamation stating that the towns of Nayarit would no longer support the government. In October the authorities of Tepic were forcibly removed, and others of insurgent tendencies appointed in their place. In November Lozada sent commissioners to Lerdo with instructions to lay before the president propositions for the settlement of affairs relating to that district, and in January of the following year the Nayarit tribes issued a pronunciamiento, styling themselves the "ejercito Mexicana popular restaurador," appointing Lozada their commander-in-chief.

Lozada had at his command some 12,000 to 15,000 men, well provisioned and equipped, and with about half his force marched on Guadalajara, directing the remainder of his divisions against Sinaloa and Zacatecas. Town after town fell into his hands, and about the close of January we find him at the rancho of Mojonora, some four leagues from Guadalajara, where on the 28th he was defeated by General Corona, with the loss of 1,000 men and three pieces of artillery. On the preceding day the Sinaloa division had been defeated, while the force despatched to Zacatecas also met with reverse. On the 2d of March, Corona again routed the insurgents at Guadalajara, driving them to the neighboring sierra, where for a few months they still maintained a fitful resistance.

Peace was now established in Mexico, and for two years or more little opposition was offered to Lerdo's administration. The periodic tumults which had thus far marked with but few and brief intervals the course of the Mexican republic were for the most part local, and not as a rule directed against the government. At the time of Lerdo's election it would not have been a difficult matter for him to break down, by liberal and well-concerted measures, the barriers which separated

rival factions, and had he done so it is probable that he would have gathered around him a circle of adherents against whom opposition would have been almost in vain. But Lerdo was strangely wanting in certain qualities, his overweening self-confidence dulling his powers of perception; and while making enemies of the Diaz faction, and giving sore cause of offence to his own party, he paid no heed to the gathering storm which he had himself called into being, by causing his re-election to the executive chair in 1875.

On the 15th of January, 1876, General Fidencio Hernandez issued a pronunciamiento denouncing Lerdo and his government, and proclaiming Diaz general-in-chief of the revolutionary forces. Already the nation was thoroughly roused, and within a few weeks the disaffection spread throughout the states.

On the 22d of March, Diaz published in a revised form a plan issued by Hernandez at Tuxtepec, wherein it was affirmed that Mexico was ruled under a system subversive of her institutions and laws; that freedom of suffrage had been virtually abolished, and that the elections were controlled by the president, to whom the courts of justice were made subservient. It was also declared that Lerdo and his ministers were no longer recognized, and that a provisional executive would be appointed by governors of states to whom the plan was acceptable, substitutes being appointed in place of those who refused to recognize it.

At the head of some 400 followers, Diaz marched against Matamoros, in the neighborhood of which city the plan was first proclaimed, and through the defection of the garrison gained possession of the place without a struggle. But already the government forces, mustering 6,000 strong and in several columns, were approaching the frontier, and Diaz was compelled to retreat. It was at first his intention to penetrate into the interior; but he afterward decided to return to Oajaca, and passing through Texas and Louisiana, took passage at New Orleans for Vera Cruz, disguised as a Cuban doctor.

The voyage was an adventurous one. On reaching Tampico, a detachment of troops came on board the vessel, and among them Diaz recognized some of the prisoners whom he had captured and released at Vera Cruz. Under the close scrutiny of these men he could not hope to escape detection, and soon perceived that preparations were being made for his arrest. At this juncture the ship lay far from shore, off the mouth of the river; but he was a good swimmer, and if he

MATAMOROS AND VICINITY.

could escape the sharks and make his way to shore, there was fair prospect of arriving in safe quarters. At dusk he slipped noiselessly into the water and struck out for land. He had been watched, however, and soon there fell on his ears the cry of "Man overboard!" followed quickly by the stroke of oars.

Dragged into the boat half unconscious, Diaz was brought back to the vessel and placed under arrest; whereupon he claimed protection of the United States flag, the craft being an American steamer, named the *City of Havana*. The commander assured him that he was safe, at least until Vera Cruz was reached; but as the government troops were numerous

and could readily gain possession of the vessel, that officer suggested that he seek protection on board a man-of-war anchored near by. This alternative the general refused, as it would interfere with his plans; but soon he found a sentinel placed at his cabin door under some frivolous pretext.

On the following day there was a heavy gale, and while the sentry was in the throes of sea-sickness, Diaz passed unnoticed into the cabin of the purser, who had promised to befriend him, proposing, when the steamer neared land, to swim ashore with the aid of a life-buoy. He was persuaded, how-

City of Oajaca

ever, by the purser to hide within a sofa-trunk and fling the buoy overboard, in order to make it appear that he had escaped.

Not until daybreak was it discovered that the cabin of Diaz was deserted; and after a careful search had been made in all parts of the vessel except the real hiding-place, though often in its close proximity, an official notice was drawn up as to his disappearance, the belief being expressed that he had been drowned. For an entire week he lay cramped in his narrow quarters, often barely venturing to draw breath, for the purser's cabin was the favorite lounging-place of the

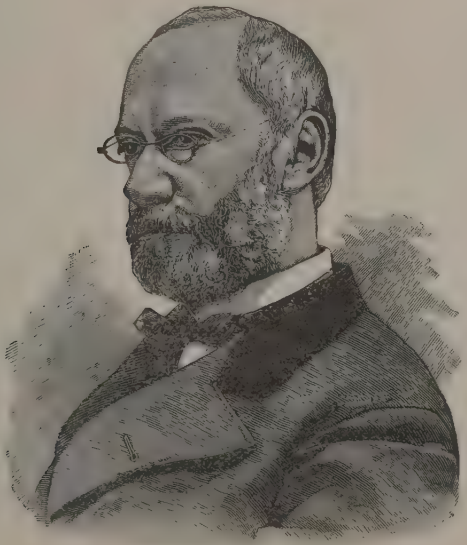
officers, where they drank, smoked, and gambled till long after midnight.

On the arrival of the steamer at Vera Cruz, the commandant resolved to guard against contingencies by placing armed boats around the steamer; but after the troops had landed, the general donned the garb of a sailor, and joined the labor gang on board one of the freight barges, thus making his way to land. Near by two horses were in readiness in charge of a servant, and mounting one of them Diaz made his way to Boca del Rio, some four leagues distant. While dismounting for the purpose of making arrangements to continue his journey, a detachment of cavalry came up, and as he passed out of the hostlery he was suddenly confronted by Colonel Escobar, to whom he was well known. Instantly he gave the sailor's salute, thus covering his face as the colonel's eyes were turned upon him, and observing only a man in sailor's garb, the latter passed on his way. Meanwhile the servant left in charge of the horses had taken fright and fled. After passing the night on the wet ground, without fire and exposed to a heavy storm, Diaz made his way to the hacienda of one of his friends, and as he set forth on the following day, the gleam of the arms and uniforms of an approaching body of Lerdist troops warned him to hasten his departure. Finally, without further adventure worthy of note, he reached the camp of General Vela, where he was in safe quarters, and in September we find him again at Oajaca in command of 4,000 men.

On the 26th of October Lerdo was re-elected to the presidency, but by deception so palpable that the chief justice, José María Iglesias, secretly left the capital and denounced the election as fraudulent. Then by virtue of a clause in the constitution, which provides that the head of the judiciary shall assume the executive office ad interim in the absence of a duly elected president, he formed a cabinet, and with the forces collected by his generals entered the city of Guanajuato.

Lerdo's position was now becoming serious; for he must contend not only with this new combination, but with the forces

organized by Diaz in Oajaca, and by Gonzales, who had already entered Tlascala. In the middle of November a decisive battle was fought at Tecoac, in which Diaz was on the point of being defeated, when Gonzalez came to his support, and falling unexpectedly on the enemy's flank, restored the fight, the result being a total rout of the Lerdist forces, with the loss of all their material of war.



José María Iglesias.

When news of this disaster reached Mexico, the ministry was seized with panic, and various plans were discussed, only to be rejected, for the members were not sufficiently in accord to meet such an emergency Finally it was decided to leave the capital, and on the night of the 20th, Lerdo, accompanied by Escobedo, Mejía, and others, started toward the coast, attended by a strong escort of dragoons, and taking with him a

considerable portion of the public funds. Reaching Acapulco without molestation, he embarked for the United States, and finally made his residence in New York, where we will take our leave of a man to whom few were reluctant to bid adieu.

Soon after the victory at Tecoac, Diaz set out for Mexico at the head of 12,000 troops, and no resistance being offered, he entered the city amid a tumultuous ovation, accorded less on account of the triumph of his party than as a mark of appreciation of the man. Five days later, in accordance with the revolutionary plan, he assumed the executive power. Thus there were three presidents of the republic, each being recognized by his own faction; for Lerdo, though he had abandoned the field, had by no means relinquished his claim. Most of his followers had, however, transferred their allegiance to Iglesias, who found himself at the head of 20,000 troops; but at the approach of the army of Diaz, desertion thinned their ranks. Soon afterward their chieftain, seeing the hopelessness of his position, followed the example of Lerdo, embarking early in 1877 for San Francisco, accompanied among others by his ministers Palacio, Alcalde, and Prieto, all of whom ranked among the foremost politicians and leaders of thought in Mexico. On the 2d of May, 1877, congress formally announced the election of Diaz to the presidency by the almost unanimous vote of nearly 200 districts.

Porfirio Diaz, whose public career has already in part been laid before the reader, was educated at the religious and scientific institutes of Oajaca, and in early youth adopted the profession of arms. At the time of the French invasion, he declared against the establishment of monarchy, and his brilliant achievements raised him to the foremost rank among military leaders. A man of remarkable administrative ability, he had already given promise, as chief of a district and as governor of a state, of the qualities which he afterward displayed as president. As a statesman, he was free from the obstinacy and subtlety which characterized Juarez and Lerdo, and his mind was of the firmly knit texture which reaches

out instinctively to right conclusions. He possessed in a remarkable degree that most admirable of qualities, practical sense, which was combined with a rare insight into the nature of men and things, with clearness of head to direct and strength of will to enforce.

PORFIRIO DIAZ.

Linked with Juarez as the savior of his country, he has shown himself more far-seeing than his colleague in selecting the best measures for the welfare of the people; and few great leaders, whether military or political, have been so seldom accused of mistakes. Neither blinded by ambition, nor dazzled by power, nor puffed up by success, he has ever stood

firmly to the principles which he avowed when entering on his political career.

Diaz assumed office with the simplest necessary forms, declining to occupy the palace, except on state occasions and for the transaction of business, and then retiring to his unpretentious residence in the street of La Moneda.

RESIDENCE OF DIAZ 1877–80.

For a time a few war clouds remained on the political horizon. Lerdo and Iglesias had issued manifestoes in support of their claims to the presidency. The latter soon recognized the futility of his efforts, and returning to Mexico, retired into private life; but Lerdo's party, having interests of their own to serve, organized their forces to maintain the struggle in the northern states. Escobedo also raised an army in Texas, and

invaded Coahuila in the autumn of 1877, while Amador held out in Tamaulipas. The government troops pressed them closely, and after being several times defeated, Escobedo was captured and taken as a prisoner to the capital, where he was released on parole. Amador was less fortunate, being killed in action after sustaining many reverses, and with his death the campaign came practically to an end. During the years which ensued there were occasional disturbances in several of the states; but they were quickly suppressed, the only one that assumed formidable proportions being in the Sinaloa region, with Marquez de Leon as leader.

After the first year of the Diaz administration, it may be said that the country enjoyed more complete repose than during any portion of the republican period. This was due in part to the growing contentment of the people amid the new order of things, and to the energy, precautions, and conciliatory measures of the president, who frankly appealed for aid to men of all parties, kept around him the most able officials, irrespective of religious or political creeds, and distributed the civil and military preferments mainly as rewards for efficiency and patriotism. One by one those who had formerly been arrayed against him tendered their friendship or submission, and even the clergy expressed their confidence in a man who protected them from all encroachments, and required from them only what was in accord with the constitution and the welfare of the people.

While striving to promote harmony among the several parties, Diaz never swerved from his self-imposed task of reforming the many abuses which had been tolerated under former administrations. The pruning-knife was applied to all departments of the service; the public offices were cleared of all superfluous employés; the pay-lists were altered, and while important reductions were made, premiums were awarded to those who displayed aptitude and integrity. The consular service was also remodelled, and measures were adopted to prevent the wholesale peculation which for years had depleted

the treasury. No favoritism was displayed in these sweeping measures of reform; the only exception being in the case of pensions granted to invalids and to the widows and orphans of soldiers who had died in the cause of the revolution.

Thus through the application of sound practical sense and close economy, a remedy was found for the chronic depletion of the treasury, and that without any increase of the public burdens. The revenue, which for 1876–77 amounted only to about $16,000,000, increased during the following year to more than $20,000,000, and for 1883 to $34,000,000. This improvement was brought about, however, not only by economic measures, but by the development of national resources, and by opening up the avenues of trade and industries. Roads were built connecting the seaports with the principal marts of commerce; piers and light-houses were erected canals were made, and the navigation of rivers improved, subsidies were granted to oceanic steamship lines, and railroads were constructed, forming a complete network of communication.

No less commendable was the foreign policy of the administration, whereby the balance of trade, which had been largely against the country, was considerably reduced. Notice was given to several nations of the termination of commercial treaties, concluded by former ministries on disadvantageous terms, especially those with Germany, Italy, and the United States.

For several years, relations with the United States had been strained, partly on account of the refusal of the government to allow American troops to enter its territory in quest of marauders, though a similar privilege had been granted to the Mexican forces. The outcry raised in Texas led to instructions being given to General Ord to cross the Rio Grande, and war appeared imminent; but the attitude of Diaz, at once firm and conciliatory, had a favorable effect, and the dispute was adjusted without bloodshed In 1882 a convention was framed, allowing the troops of either nation to cross the border in pursuit of raiding parties and hostile Indians.

The settlement of these difficulties was aided by the prompt payment of the indemnity agreed on by the joint commission on claims, which, after sessions extending over seven years, had in 1876 awarded $4,125,622 to United States claimants, and $150,498 to Mexican claimants. The demands of the former amounted originally to $470,000,000, and of the latter to $86,000,000, many of them being entirely fictitious, and all of them exorbitant. The payments were to be made in yearly instalments of $300,000, and with the exception of the first all were defrayed by the treasury, without having resort to forced contributions.

By act of May 5, 1878, a president or governor was declared ineligible for re-election until after four years from the end of his preceding term. Nevertheless, as the time drew near, several of the states declared in favor of retaining in power one who was so eminently fitted to be at the head of affairs. As this measure would, however, conflict with the revolutionary plan to which he had pledged himself, Diaz refused to allow his name to appear as a candidate, and the election was decided in favor of Gonzalez, who assumed office on the 1st of December, 1880.

Manuel Gonzalez, a son of a small landed proprietor in the State of Tamaulipas, was born in Matamoros, in the year 1833. His first years passed in a small cattle-range belonging to his father. After receiving the rudiments of a common education, in his early boyhood he went to live with an uncle, named Campuzano, acting as his chief assistant at his shop and bakery in Matamoros. At the age of 18 he joined the national guard of said city, but soon after transferred himself to a battalion of regular infantry, in which his courage and intelligence were rewarded with rapid promotion; every advance he made being, without exception, due either to acts of gallantry or to wounds received on the battle-field. His military qualifications won him the good opinion of the commanders under whose orders he served, who were among the most distinguished of the old army—such as Osollo, Marquez,

Miramón, Cobos, etc. Upon the breaking out of the war of the French Intervention, Gonzalez detached himself from the military faction which carried on an armed opposition to the government of Juarez, and hastened to the defence of his country against the foreign invaders, joining Porfirio Diaz, and never leaving him, even for a single day, but rendering the most efficient aid in the struggle sustained by him, on behalf of national independence. In Puebla he lost his right arm fighting against the imperialists. Later on, when Diaz raised the standard of revolution against President Lerdo, he named Gonzalez his second in command; and to the boldness and skill exhibited by the latter in leading the artillery and an army from Matamoros to the Central Plateau, as well as to his timely arrival on the battle-field of Tecoac, where he, Gonzalez, was severely wounded, Diaz mainly owed his victory and the possession of supreme power in the republic. Gonzalez' body is covered with scars left on it by the wounds received in the civil wars, and in the campaigns against the French.

Nevertheless, the very efforts made by the government to promote and develop the country's material progress, and the heavy expenditures incurred to aid with subventions the builders of railways, as well as to build and repair the public roads, establish telegraph lines, improve the condition of ports, erect lighthouses in them, plant colonies of foreign immigrants, and construct large public buildings—such as the new custom-house in Mexico and the military college at Chapultepec, etc., caused in the last months of Gonzalez' administration a financial crisis, which, in a country where so large a number of persons live at the expense of the treasury, brought upon the president a great outcry from the revenue eaters. These agitators found an opportunity in their desire to flatter the president-elect, who was soon to assume the reins of power, for making a terrible opposition to Gonzalez, in October, 1884, on the occasion of his government's laying before Congress, for its approval, a plan for the consolidation of the foreign debt. The plan was, without doubt, one highly beneficial to the

country; this became evident at a later day, when Diaz carried it out, thus retrieving the credit of Mexico abroad, amid the plaudits of the very men who had inveighed against the project when it was Gonzalez that favored it. But political passions caused a most violent opposition to the scheme, and a calumnious charge was preferred against Gonzalez, to the effect that he was thereby working for his personal interest, having in view to appropriate to himself one-third of the sum intended for paying off the foreign creditors. This, in the face of the fact that Diaz, and not the much-abused Gonzalez, would be at the head of the government when the payments were to be commenced.

However, reflection having, in the course of time, cleared the way, and shown how much the republic has advanced under the government of Gonzalez—so much so, that the greater portion of the material and financial improvements accomplished in Mexico were effected during that administration—the good sense of the people has done justice to President Gonzalez, and the world, without excepting even his enemies, sees in him one of the ablest statesmen, who, since the national independence was secured, have guided the destinies of the country.

CHAPTER LII.

INSTITUTIONAL.

As we have now traced the leading incidents in the political history of Mexico from the time when it emerged from the twilight of fable down to the recent records, it may not be without interest to give in conclusion a brief sketch of the modern republic, the composition and classification of its society, the manners and customs of the people, their industries and commerce, their progress and prospects, their religion and government, with such other matters as may serve to describe to the reader the nation as it at present exists, and the condition and development of its resources.

First, then, as to government; and in touching on this subject it will be in place to give a slight review of the political system evolved under the viceroys, and of the political incidents of later years.

In their status with respect to the mother country, the Spanish American colonies much resembled the provinces of Rome. Though nominally integral parts of the nation, they were used only for the enrichment of the higher classes, under a system of government by which they were virtually excluded from political power. As the proconsul ruled his province subject only to the emperor of Rome, so did the viceroy govern his colony, responsible only to the king of Spain, whose principal care was for his own interests and his favorites. Not that the code of the Spaniards in relation to the Indies, as their New World possessions were termed, was lacking in wisdom and benevolence, but unfortunately the laws were circumvented by greedy officials, and a long-continued system of oppression was the consequence.

For purposes of government, the Spanish possessions in America were divided into viceroyalties and the provinces of

audiencias, of chancillerías reales or royal tribunals, and of officials bearing the titles of adelantados and gobernadores, or captains-general and governors, these primary divisions being subdivided into alcaldías mayores, corregimientos, and alcaldías ordinarias. From time to time as abuses were discovered, new offices were created, many changes effected, and many subdivisions of authority made for the purpose of keeping watch and check on those in office. Thus a complicated system of government was gradually developed during the three centuries which followed the conquest. All the colonies were subject to the control of the Supreme Council of the Indies at Madrid, its jurisdiction extending over every department, civil, military, ecclesiastical, and commercial. Through its influence viceroys were appointed and removed; bishops were enthroned; and even the pope submitted to its members, for approval, his bulls and briefs, relating to the affairs of the New World.

Though representing the king, the viceroy, who was ex-officio president of the audiencia, and also held the titles of governor and captain-general, was subject to certain restrictions, especially during the later years of the viceregal period. On important questions of government he must consult the audiencia of Mexico; in his position as governor, whereby he was the nominal head of all the departments of state, his power to distribute lands was restricted by the rulers of provinces, and though as captain-general he had full power to levy troops, his action was subject to the control of a council of war.

Official appointments were conferred, as will be remembered, almost exclusively on Spaniards, and with the exception of artisans, all who emigrated to the Indies did so either to obtain office or to engage in commerce. The system of selling positions to the highest bidder, which had previously obtained in the mother country, was extended to the colonies, and was authorized by a decree enacted in June 1559. The list of salable offices included more especially those of sheriffs,

notaries, clerks, regidores, and collectors of the funds of the courts and municipalities, the prices paid fluctuating according to the condition of the times. Thus during the period 1605-12, the position of high sheriff to the audiencia of Mexico was sold three times, for the respective amounts of $28,750, $122,740, and $50,000.

Municipal government was vested in the city councils, the members of which were termed alcaldes or justices, regidores or magistrates, and síndicos or recorders. The duties of the alcaldes were to take cognizance in civil and criminal cases, though appeal lay to the city council, the alcalde mayor, or superior judge, the governor, and finally to the audiencia. In the larger cities there were two alcaldes and twelve regidores, and in most of the towns there were also two of the former, but only six of the latter. Funds were derived from the sale and rent of lands reserved for municipal purposes, from fines, and from contributions levied when urgent needs required extraordinary outlay.

Even after national independence had been achieved, many years elapsed before the Mexican nation was finally released from the shackles of a restrictive form of government. For several decades, as we have seen, a struggle was carried on between the champions of progress and popular rights, and those of class privileges and superstition, an appeal to arms being usually the only method of arriving at a decision. Bitter party spirit, caste distinctions, and tribal differences long deferred the advent of true freedom, which was ultimately acquired by what may be termed political evolution, though one aided to a great extent by extraneous influences. The aristocracy, in league with the clergy, long struggled to maintain their predominance. Through their efforts the unstable and short-lived empire of Iturbide was created, and after his fall, when the organization of the two distinct parties, federalists and centralists, severed the ranks of the republicans, the aristocratic element, by attaching itself to the former, still

maintained its ascendency, and held control of the most valuable offices.

In 1835 the centralists, aided by Santa Anna, were victorious, and in the same year we find this popular leader invested with the powers of a dictator, soon, however, to be overthrown, banished, and recalled. Again he figures as an autocrat, and again he is dragged from his self-created pinnacle of fame, until in 1857 comes the ultimate triumph of federalism. During the period 1821-57, Mexico was ruled under divers forms of government, with at least fifty different administrations, these incessant changes in the affairs of state being attended with more than two hundred and fifty revolutions.

The last effort of the conservative party was the invitation extended to Maximilian to re-establish the Mexican empire, and the failure of this ill-judged enterprise in 1867 was the death-blow to centralism. Since that time republican principles under the federal system have gradually gained ground, represented, it is true, by various political parties, but all more or less progressive and of distinctive character, the several factions being designated after their respective leaders, as Juaristas, Lerdistas, and Porfiristas. Reforms have followed in quick succession. From the church has been wrested some portion of her power, religious tolerance has been proclaimed, and marriage by civil contract legalized; while vast improvement has been made in the material condition of the country, which during the colonial period languished under oppressive restrictions, and in later days was depressed by chronic internal strife.

Many of the reform measures inaugurated have already been mentioned, and not least among them are those in connection with the administration of justice, which, under changing laws and corrupt government, had sunk to a mere mockery. Under former administrations the judiciary had fostered rather than suppressed the criminal classes, and favored by civil wars and disorders, by class distinctions and

church absolutions, and the excessive good nature and indifference of the people, crime had grown to fearful proportions. By enforcing strict, certain, and speedy justice, by insisting on a close and rigorous prosecution of criminals, and by reorganizing the police force and the rural guard, a condition of security was brought about never before experienced by the republic, and the increase in wealth and population since 1876 has probably never been exceeded in any previous decade.

States.	Area in Sq. Leagues.	Population.	Capitals.
Aguascalientes	411	140,430	Aguascalientes.
Campeche	3,810	116,000	Campeche.
Chiapas	2,367	200,000	San Cristobal de las Casas.
Chihuahua	12,352	250,000	Chihuahua.
Coahuila	7,506	145,000	Saltillo.
Colima	552	65,827	Coloma.
Durango	6,270	200,000	Durango.
Guanajuato	1,683	898,072	Guanajuato.
Guerrero	3,621	327,050	Tixtla.
Hidalgo	1,204	500,000	Pachuca.
Jalisco	5,777	1,012,117	Guadalajara.
Mexico	1,156	752,893	Toluca.
Michoacan	3,497	784,108	Morelia.
Morelos	262	150,000	Cuernavaca.
Nuevo Leon	3,486	223,017	Monterey.
Oajaca	4,953	754,468	Oajaca.
Puebla	1,773	784,470	Puebla.
Querétaro	473	192,317	Querétaro.
San Luis Potosi	4,056	550,000	San Luis Potosi.
Sinaloa	5,339	201,918	Culiacan.
Sonora	11,650	141,000	Hermosillo.
Tabasco	1,748	110,093	San Juan Bautista.
Tamaulipas	4,458	141,000	Ciudad Victoria.
Tlascala	239	153,269	Tlascala.
Vera Cruz	3,869	611,586	Vera Cruz.
Yucatan	8,160	500,000	Mérida.
Zacatecas	3,392	470,000	Zacatecas.
Valle de Mexico	68	400,000	Mexico.
Territories—			
Lower California	9,080	30,000	La Paz.
Tepic		121,742	Tepic.
		11,026,377	

From the twelve intendencias and the northern provinces of the colonial period, with a population in 1810 of a little over 6,000,000, the political divisions of Mexico have increased to twenty-eight states and two territories, with a population estimated in 1886 at more than 11,000,000. The table on the opposite page, derived from recent statistics, gives reliable figures as to their size and population.

In their several constitutions the states differ from each other in many features, as in the number of legislative chambers, sessions, and representatives, and all of them, though enjoying full autonomy, resemble in their organization the central government. Governors usually hold office for four years, assisted in some instances by one or more secretaries of state. Districts are under charge of jefes políticos, or prefects, and municipalities usually elect annually their local boards, with one regidor for each thousand inhabitants, and with an alcalde and one or two síndicos. Hitherto municipal positions have, as a rule, been in the hands of men who used them for their own purposes; and though the people are gradually taking a greater interest in local affairs, it is probable that as yet not more than one in ten of those who are qualified care to exercise the suffrage.

The federal congress consists of a house of deputies and a senate, both elected by indirect popular vote, the former for two years, in the proportion of one deputy to every 40,000 inhabitants. The senate, abolished in 1853 and restored in 1874, is composed of two members for each state, half of the entire number retiring each year. Two sessions are held yearly, the second one, commencing on the 1st of April, being occupied mainly with financial matters.

The president of the republic is elected, as already mentioned, for four years, his term of office commencing on the 1st of December. In case of his disability or resignation, the chief justice, or, as he is termed, the president of the supreme court, still becomes his substitute. With his right of conferring appointments, especially in the army, which regards him

as its chief, with the control of enormous funds, and with a preponderating influence in many of the states, through the power of influencing elections, installing officials, and granting concessions, the chief magistrate may become virtually an autocrat; for congress can be readily manipulated by party intrigues and by a judicious distribution of money.

The functions of the executive are divided among six secretaries; namely, those of foreign affairs, justice and public instruction, the interior, the treasury and public credit, war and navy, and public works. The first of these officials becomes ex-officio premier of the republic, and holds possession of the great seal. An interior ministry, known as gobernacion, divides with the public-works department the control of home affairs not included in the functions of other ministers, the secretary of the latter attending to matters connected with trade, industries, and colonization, public roads, buildings, lands, and scientific operations.

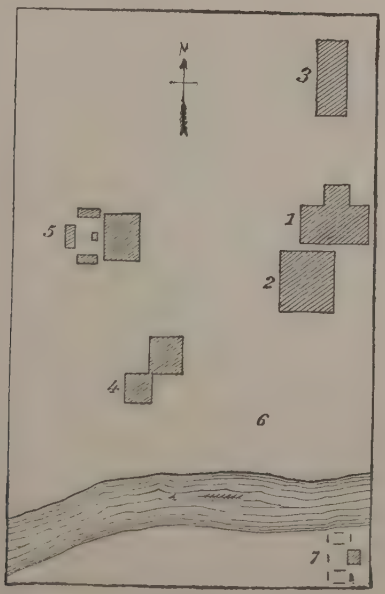
The policy of late has been to encourage the immigration of foreigners, for the purpose of developing the resources of the country, creating new industries, and opening up fresh avenues of employment, and also in the hope that by contact with more advanced races the lower classes might make more rapid progress in industrial pursuits.

Since 1881 Italian colonies have been established in Vera Cruz, Puebla, Morelos, San Luis Potosí, and in the neighborhood of the capital. For the promotion of foreign settlements, the government purchased in these states 22,458 hectares, or about 45,000 acres of land. The sum of $1,628,178 was also expended for lands in Coahuila, Guerrero, on the island of Tiburon, and on the isthmus of Tehuantepec. The first party, consisting of 84 families, numbering 423 persons, arrived in October 1881, and settled at Huatusco in the following month, the colony being named after President Gonzalez.

In 1883 a liberal colonization law was passed, facilitating the acquisition of land by gift in quantities of 100 hectares,

and by purchase in larger quantities at low prices, ranging from six to fifteen cents per hectare in the border states to one and two dollars in the central provinces, with exemption to colonists for ten years from almost every impost, and with premiums for planting trees and making improvements.

Thus far the main drawbacks to immigration have been want of security for capital and of stability in government. As soon as these difficulties are finally removed, it is not improbable that the population of the United States of Mexico will increase in as rapid a ratio as that of the most favored nations of the world.



CHAPTER LIII.

SOCIETY AND ITS ELEMENTS.

Of the original elements which are blended in the modern population of Mexico, some description has already been given, though from the contact of races, extending over a period of nearly four centuries, have arisen innumerable combinations which cannot be fully traced or classified. Thus the offspring of a European and an Indian is termed a mestizo; of a European and an African, a mulatto; of an Indian and an African, a zambo or chino. A mestizo union with a European, Indian, or African produces respectively a castizo or trigueño, a mestizo-claro, and a mulatto-obscuro; from a corresponding mulatto union spring a morisco or terceron, a chino-obscuro, and a zambo-negro; and from a similar intermarriage with a zambo come a chino-blancho, a chino-cholo, and a zambo-chino. These are the terms most frequently used, though varying in different parts of the republic, and for practical purposes it is unnecessary to proceed further.

As yet there are but two classes of society in Mexico, — those who work to live and those who live by the labor of their fellow-man, the one including all the wealth and intelligence of the country, members of the professions and public officials, and the other consisting only of those who serve. Between the two there is an almost impassable gulf; for the poor are hopelessly poor, and looked upon with contempt, while the high-born, if reduced to poverty, prefer starvation to manual labor, which is considered as degrading. At present there is no great and powerful middle class, though such an element is being gradually evolved through the social and material progress of the country. There is not, as in most of the countries of Europe and in the United States, a great body politic consisting of farmers, traders, and artisans, many of

them owning the land which they till, the wares which they sell, and the shops and dwellings which they occupy. This most important factor in the community, forming as it does the very backbone of a nation, is still in process of development. Thus the term lower classes, in whatever sense it may be used, signifies in Spanish America something different from

HOUSE-SERVANT.

its meaning elsewhere on this continent and perhaps elsewhere in the world.

The present condition and status of the lower classes are matters easy of explanation. Given as a base the conquered aboriginals, merged into innumerable castes by intermarriage with Africans and Europeans; steep them in ignorance and superstition; grind them for centuries under the heel of political, ecclesiastical, and social despotism, and the result is exactly what might have been expected.

In physique, the Mexican peon is somewhat below medium stature, and of slender build, but hardy, and remarkably patient of fatigue. The men frequently carry for a considerable distance packages of two or three hundred pounds weight, the

MAN OF ALL WORK

load being borne on the back and shoulders and balanced by a leathern strap around the forehead and chest, while women support lighter burdens on their heads, after the fashion of the French and Italian peasantry. Their condition is pitiable in the extreme; for in the cities they are the servants of servants, and in the country, bound by debt or family ties, they live,

almost as bondsmen, on the haciendas, or the mines where dwelt their fathers and forefathers.

The lowest grades include some of the most abject creatures on earth, beings who are almost a reproach to humanity, or rather to the European civilization which placed them in a

MAT MERCHANT.

condition far more degraded than that of their ancestors under aboriginal régime. They are thinly and but partially clad in coarse cotton garments, many of them going barefoot and bareheaded; their food consists of whatever they can pick up, and at night they huddle together in adobe huts, or sleep on the ground wherever they may chance to be when night overtakes them.

Even those who are a little higher in the scale of civilization are utilized in the cities as pack-animals, and in the mines in place of machinery; and yet so fearful are they of losing their employment that they destroy all labor-saving implements, even though they may tend to relieve them of a portion of their burdens. In the streets and on the highways they may be seen bearing huge timbers, loads of adobes, and boxes and packages of enormous weight; and heavy articles, as pianos and iron safes, are carried for miles across barrancas almost impassable for vehicles.

But degraded as is the condition of the lower classes in Mexico, it has improved somewhat since the era of the revolution. Descriptions which have been handed down to us of the 20,000 léperos, or lazzaroni, who twenty years ago infested the suburbs of the capital, represent a scene of poverty, filth, and wretchedness almost beyond belief. Not long afterward a law was passed requiring vagrants to go to work or suffer imprisonment, and this regulation produced a wholesome effect. Not that the reform proved radical; for to this day beggars may be seen who pass their lives standing, like statues, by the wayside or on the street corners, rather than raise a hand to provide themselves with food. Others, shockingly deformed, obstruct the sidewalks, and exhibit their twisted frames in mute appeal for aid.

Nevertheless there are few classes of laborers who do more work for less money than the Mexican peon. It is, moreover, a significant fact that there are few Chinamen in their midst, except on the plantations of the lowlands; for Mongolians cannot compete with them, either in amount or quality of labor, or in the straitness of their economy.

The employer who keeps faith with his Mexican laborers, paying them promptly according to his agreement, will receive faithful service in return, being acknowledged as their master almost by divine right; for the peons and their ancestors have been drilled for centuries in the school of servility. So accustomed are they to kicks and curses that they regard this

species of abuse as incidental to their sphere in life. Even when making their purchases at the stores they look with suspicion on the shopkeeper who addresses them politely; for such treatment is regarded as significant of dishonest intent. Expecting to be asked an exorbitant price for goods, and then to obtain a reduction, if a fair equivalent is demanded, from which there is no rebate, they seldom purchase, though knowing that they can do so at cheaper rates than they must pay elsewhere.

In no respect are the several classes so strictly divided as in the regulation of traffic. The tradesmen who receive the patronage of the rich never come into competition with the provision stores, or bakeries, or pulque-shops which supply the wants of the poor. The latter dwell and toil apart; they build their own houses, provide their own food and clothing, and even when sick do not venture to seek the aid of a physician of aristocratic repute. On the one side there is arrogance and contempt; on the other antipathy and indifference; and there is no powerful middle class to stand between these opposing elements. And yet the people thoroughly understand each other; for each one knows his place and his sphere in life. Though the streets of the capital are usually thronged, there is neither hustling nor crowding, and there are few of those unseemly brawls and sickening tragedies which occur so frequently in the cities of the northern republic. There is little scolding or altercation among the women, and there is little violence, either in word or deed among the men. Even rival journalists are urbane, and politicians are seldom turbulent, however fiercely may burn the fires which underlie the surface.

Among the upper classes, as among the lower, may be found all gradations of caste, in addition to the pure-blooded European and the pure-blooded American. In point of ability, education, wealth, comfort, and refinement, the former far excel the standard to which in the estimation of foreigners they are entitled; for in these respects they are by no means behind the other civilized nations of the world. Those who are most

prominent in society and in politics are exclusive and reticent, making no parade of their resources and opportunities; but he who attempts to impose on them by superior subtlety and

FEMALE SERVANT.

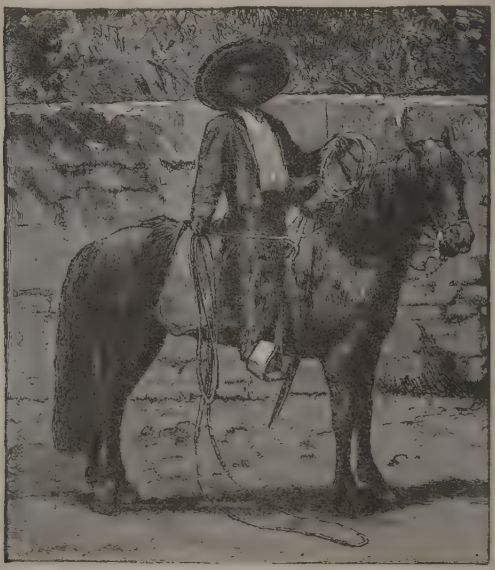
shrewdness will surely meet with disappointment. Wealth education, and gentility are the principal passports to society; but the possession of wealth alone does not win recognition for its owner, and all who are but one or two degrees removed from the brute condition of the peon have rights which are

duly respected, though they may not possess a dollar in the world.

Before the revolution, nearly all the wealth of the country was centred in the church, or in the hands of the Spaniards and their descendants. Most of those who could properly be called Spaniards afterward left the country, taking with them all the money and valuables that they could collect, or rather all that they were permitted to remove. As for the rest, there was not always, and there is not to-day, the difference which the abject condition of the poorer classes and the extravagant luxury of the rich would seem to indicate. Among all classes there is a lack of energy, thrift, and foresight, and except for the low-born there are few avenues of employment, handicraft in whatever shape being considered a degradation. Those who have retained their haciendas or their city property are for the most part in comfortable circumstances; but there are many who mortgaged their possessions when land was inflated in value, and lost all when compelled to realize. Thus there are families which, from one generation to another, have struggled merely to keep themselves above the surface beneath which their respectability would be no longer recognized.

The number of Spaniards in Mexico has been estimated at 20,000, and of other foreigners, apart from Americans, at about the same figures, the latter class of population being variable, though constantly increasing in number. The term foreigner is applied to all who are not born in the country, whatever may be their parentage. On the other hand, a native of Mexico, though of foreign descent, is called a Mexican, if by any political act, as voting or accepting office, he has proclaimed his nationality. As a rule, Europeans are not in sympathy with Mexican institutions, holding themselves apart, frequenting their own clubs and places of resort, and regarding the natives with offensive superciliousness. Moreover, European merchants have sought to monopolize the trade of the country by spreading false reports, by smuggling and taking advantage of official corruption, and by helping to keep the

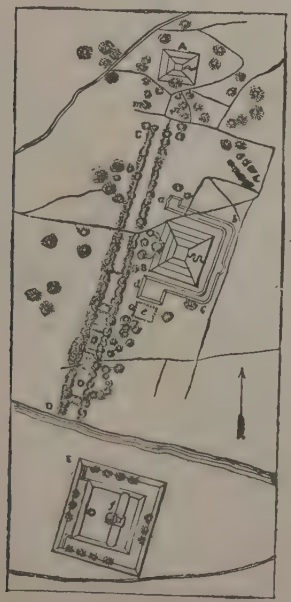
masses in poverty and ignorance, while charging the evils produced by their own baseness to the faults of a government which they openly despise, in common with everything else that is Mexican.



VAQUERO.

Though in evil repute, citizens of the United States are not more lightly esteemed than they deserve, since few respectable Americans are to be found in the country, and of them the inhabitants knew as little as do the former of the better class of Mexicans. Unfortunately they consist too largely of ruffians from the border states, of fugitives from justice, professional gamblers, mining speculators, political adventurers, nostrum venders, and broken-down doctors and lawyers. There are

among them too many of blemished character, or of no character, without conscience or self-respect, spending most of their time in bar-rooms and billiard-rooms, where they drink and smoke and chew and bet, talking loudly of coming revolutions and coming invasions, and of what they are pleased to term manifest destiny, meaning that the territory of Mexico is destined to be absorbed, slice by slice, into that of the United States. No wonder that Mexicans have formed a somewhat unfair opinion of Americans.



CHAPTER LIV.

CITIES AND THEIR CHARACTER.

ENTERING Mexico from the north, the traveller journeys league after league through a barren, silent, and in places almost untenanted region, with here and there a cluster of adobe houses, and at intervals a hacienda and a town. The hacienda consists of from five to fifty, and sometimes a hundred square leagues of land, the owner spending little of his time on the estate, and his laborers being virtually, though not legally, his serfs. Around its large fortress-like buildings are grouped the *jacales*, or thatched huts of the peons, with herders' huts scattered at intervals over the plains.

The towns, with their tile-roofed adobe dwellings, their central plaza and church, their market-place, and booths, and shabby hostlery, are all of the same pattern as the more pretentious cities; and to see one of them is to see them all. The public square, with its paved walks leading to the fountain in the centre, its orange-tree borders, and shrubbery and flower-beds, where at dusk the people gather to listen to the music of the band, forms a unique and pleasing feature in the daily life of the inhabitants.

In most of the cities the Asiatic style of architecture is observable, though the Moorish is perhaps the most common. The houses with their solid walls are usually of one story, low and with flat tiled roofs, the better class of dwellings enclosing a spacious court with a wide entrance, closed at night with double doors, and having iron-barred windows or openings looking into the street and court-yard. The palaces, as they are termed, and the more pretentious residences, are usually of two stories, with colonnades of masonry, wooden rafters, and bare floors, usually of tiles. Outside are narrow stone sidewalks, frequently worn hollow by centuries of use. Every-

Interior of Dwelling.

where the exterior is plain, and sometimes even forbidding: but in the chief cities there are abodes which are fitted up with oriental luxury and splendor.

A common dwelling in the tierra caliente is a one-story hut, built of canes resting on the ground and supporting a roof, thatched with palm leaves if near the sea-shore, or covered with a long, coarse grass if near the hills. On the table-lands adobes are commonly used for the walls, or adobes mixed with stones.

The interior of these humble abodes corresponds to the bareness without. Entering one of them we find a single room from twelve to fifteen feet square, with a hole in the roof, which serves as chimney, a door to admit the occupants, the air, and the light, a hole in that door for window, unplastered walls, a flooring of earth, and a ceiling of tiles. For furniture there are a few seats made of canes bound together with rawhide, and covered with untanned calfskin; there is seldom a table, and never a bedstead. In a corner of the hut is the bedding, which is rolled up until nightfall, and consists of matting or dried skins; while for covering the man has his serape, and the woman her rebozo, the threshold of the door doing duty for pillow. A few shelves contain the family crockery and cooking utensils, and earthen bowls and pots surround the hearthstone, on which, at meal-times, a small fire of sticks or charcoal is kindled to bake the tortillas and cook the frijoles, and then carefully extinguished, for fuel is expensive, and wages of eight or ten dollars a month do not admit of luxuries. In this dwelling live man and wife, with probably several children, a few fowls, a pig or two, and perhaps a small collection of canine favorites. Such is the home of the Mexican peon, of which class the people are mainly composed, and on whose descendants will largely depend the destiny of the nation.

As the central and southern portions of Mexico are reached, the surface of the country assumes a different aspect. Here

are stretches of land as fertile and beautiful as any in the world, producing with irrigation three crops a year, while towns and cities become more numerous, some of them owing their origin to missionary convents, some to the efforts of wealthy land-owners, and some to the course of trade.

A Stage Station.

Travelling by stage, we pass on the road long trains of carts piled high with merchandise, the native products being thus conveyed toward the sea-coast, and foreign products to the capital. All of them are covered with light canvas, giving to them the appearance of lime-kilns on wheels, and are drawn by mules, driven by swarthy mozos, at whose side is the conductor or owner, on horseback, and arrayed in gaudy trappings.

In the carrying trade the *arrieros*, or drivers of trains, play

an important part, conveying merchandise from one city to another with scrupulous care. On account of the roughness of the roads, which pass through numerous and deep ravines, pack-animals are usually preferred to vehicles. In former years thousands of pack-mules might be seen starting from Mexico, or from a sea-port, laden for a journey of 1,500 or 2,000 miles. The treasure trains, which bore the product of

ARRIERO.

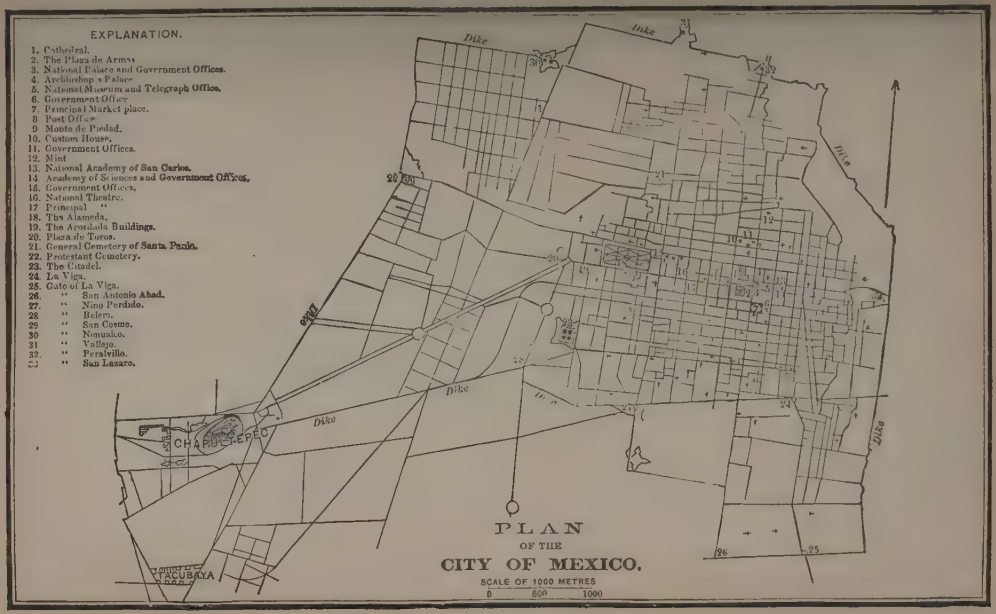
the mints and the coin of the merchants to the capital, frequently carried several millions in specie and bullion, and were escorted by a strong guard of soldiers, the wealthier citizens and their families travelling with them for protection. With the advent of railroads and express companies this mode of conveyance along the lines has of course become a thing of the past, and with it has departed the prosperity of many of the interior towns, which almost depended for their existence on the trade of the caravans.

Already the waters of the lake of Mexico are nearly a league distant from the city; canals have given way to roads and streets; pyramid temples to domes and spires; and palaces, with their hanging gardens and terraced lawns, to the less romantic structures of modern times.

The modern capital of Anáhuac occupies a site nearly three miles square, its six hundred streets and lanes being well defined and regularly laid out, while its population may be estimated at somewhat more than a quarter of a million. All the principal thoroughfares converge on the main plaza, which covers an area of fourteen acres, and around which are grouped the principal public buildings. Prominent among them is the cathedral, acknowledged as one of the finest architectural structures on the continent, founded in 1573 and finished nearly a century later, on the site of the temple of Huitzilopochtli, the Aztec god of war. Near by are the government palace, the museum, the libraries, the art galleries, the school of mines, and a number of ecclesiastical and benevolent institutions. At a short distance to the westward is the alameda, a park of some ten acres.

The city of Mexico has been aptly termed the Paris of America. Although situated in the heart of the country, it is no less cosmopolitan in character than are New York and San Francisco, containing, as it does, a large percentage of foreigners, and of citizens who have resided and travelled in foreign countries.

The capital has been subject to remarkable changes, as as well of a physical as of a social and political character. Once it was the Venice of the continent, enthroned amid the lake, and surrounded with a sheltering circle of forest-crowned heights and green meadows, among which were tributary settlements, bright with garden foliage. Canals intersected the city in every direction, filled with swiftly gliding canoes and stately barges, and on gala days the expanse was crowded with spectators, intent on witnessing the imposing ceremonies at the temple of the war-god. Now unsightly marshes fringe



PLAN OF THE CAPITAL.

the ever-narrowing surface of the lake, while the forests have been wantonly destroyed, and ancient structures razed to the ground by the early conquerors, or defaced by the ravages of civil war.

Still farther to the west are the remnants of the floating gardens, and beyond the famed castle of Chapultepec. In the

CATHEDRAL.

midst of the cypress forest which surrounds it were the abodes of Aztec sovereigns, of Spanish viceroys, and of Mexican presidents. Many strange scenes these venerable groves have witnessed, scenes unwritten and never to be recorded, of wars and statecraft, of love-makings and merry-makings; for in the days when Quauhtemotzin was offered by Cortés in Chris-

INTERIOR OF CATHEDRAL.

tian sacrifice to the lust of gold, they were hoary and with aged arms.

The site of the capital is somewhat below the level of the lakes, and digging anywhere through some three or four feet of century débris and mouldering Aztec ruins, water is reached. In winter the streets are covered with a fine dust, and the climate resembles somewhat that of San Francisco, with the sea-

ALDEANA.

ons reversed, and with slight difference between the winter and summer temperature.

Among the Mexicans there are many feast-days and religious holidays; so many as to interfere somewhat with the affairs of this busy and untiring world; but their span of life is not shortened or made unpleasant by these brief interludes from toil. On such occasions nearly all places of business, except those of the grocer, the barber, and the dram-seller, are closed;

though venders of fruit, sweetmeats, and trinkets follow their calling until dusk or far into the night. Yet the people seem none the worse for their recreation, ever ready as they are to accept excuse from labor, and it is doubtful whether they would be better engaged were there no such celebrations.

On certain feast-days, troops of girls, arrayed in white, may be seen upon the streets at daybreak, singing in chorus as they wend their way toward the church. The orthodox dress of an *aldeana* on such occasions is somewhat elaborate, — a white muslin garment trimmed with lace, over a short parti-colored petticoat; a sleeveless, bright-colored satin vest, open in front; a long colored sash and rebozo, and as many gold or silver ornaments as the wearer can afford to purchase.

In the government of Mexico there are still traces of the red-tapeism fostered by the viceroys and developed under the pupilage of colonial times, when friar, soldier, and official sought in turn to assert authority and exact obeisance. The alcalde and his confrères are still imposing personages, and exert almost despotic sway, intermeddling vexatiously with the affairs of their neighbors. To repair a house, permission must be obtained from the city authorities, and a price paid per day, according to the number of varas obstructed. In some quarters of the capital citizens are compelled to water the streets in front of their dwellings. Street-cleaning is done by hand, the servants or members of each household being required to sweep the dust and refuse into the middle of the road, whence it is carried off by carts.

The police system of the Mexicans is excellent, its organization being similar to that of the French. The offender who disturbs the peace is immediately arrested, and the prompt and sure punishment of such disorders exerts a wholesome influence on those who frequent bar-rooms and indulge in fiery drinks.

Travel is almost as safe in Mexico as in the United States; for brigands are summarily dealt with, being often shot by

their captors on pretence of an attempt at escape. The criminal ranks are recruited, not from the natives, but from the idle and profligate descendants of the conquerors. In some of the states it is the custom, whenever a city becomes crowded with the vicious element, to enforce a wholesale conscription, every vagrant or suspicious character who cannot furnish proof that he is a law-abiding citizen being compelled to fight the battles of his country against the Indians on the frontier, or to serve in road-building. Such bands of patriots may be seen on the public roads several hundred in number, marching side by side, united with bonds of steel, and carefully guarded by mounted soldiers.

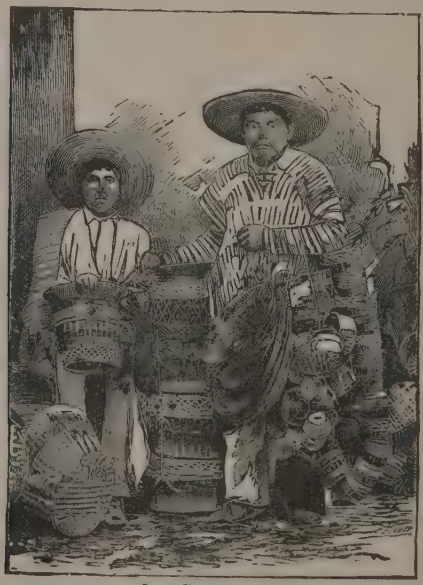
In describing Mexican habits and customs, a few words may not be out of place as to the president, who devotes himself to his duties with remarkable zeal. Rising before five in the morning for bath and breakfast, he passes two hours with his private secretary, attending to his correspondence; eight o'clock is the hour appointed for the ministerial conference, which lasts till one. Then comes the midday meal, the afternoon and evening being devoted to audiences and receptions, except on Thursdays, which are set apart for family affairs.

The sabbath he passes in recreation, in hunting, riding, or other exercise. In all his pastimes and enjoyments he is moderate and temperate; drinks but little wine, though indulging in natural comforts, without regard to the restrictions of fashion or superstition.

In their mode of life the Mexicans have adopted European customs. The desayuno or first breakfast consists simply of coffee or chocolate, taken soon after rising. After two or three hours of horseback-riding comes the breakfast proper, served between nine and twelve, and consisting of a great variety of dishes. The dinner hour, depending on professional or other duties, is between four and six, followed by supper at eight, after which come chocolate and cigars. While the rich eat more than is good for them, the poor are underfed, their diet consisting principally of fruit, tortillas, and frijoles, though

with a piece of meat, a few vegetables, they can set forth half a dozen dishes of excellent quality.

As in the United States, the corner grocery is a prominent institution in Mexico. Native adulterated wines, aguardiente, or fire-water, bread, sugar, rice, beans, chile, and divers mixtures, preserved in tin or glass, are dealt out by greasy and un-



LOS CANASTEROS.

kempt shopkeepers, who insist on having the money in one hand before they dispense their wares with the other. Hardly less common are the pulquerías, where only pulque is sold, an intoxicating beverage of which mention will be made later. To many this liquor is meat, drink, and all earthly consolation, more money being expended for it than for food, clothing, and the necessaries of life.

What tea is to the Russian, wine to the Frenchman, and whiskey to the Scotchman, the cigarro or cigarette is to the Mexican. Wrapped in corn-husk or in paper, tobacco is the universal solace of rich and poor, old and young, male and female, and is equally in place on the street or indoors, at the dinner-table or the desk, in the ball-room or in bed. Made of comparatively pure material, the cigarro is less injurious than those manufactured elsewhere, though the effects of their continuous use, generation after generation, are plainly observable.

Among the Mexicans, as among other Spanish-American nations, politeness is common to all classes, and from them is imparted to the less pliant nature of their northern neighbors, even an American railway conductor having been seen to raise his hat while addressing a passenger. It is the custom for men to embrace when meeting, each one placing his arm around the other, and patting him on the back, while the youth occasionally kisses the hand of his elder, who rises when undergoing the ceremony. On meeting and parting, ladies kiss each other on both cheeks, and among the male sex there is continuous finger-wriggling and shaking of hands.

In all reception-rooms and even in public offices, there is a sofa, with a rug in front, and chairs at either end. As in Germany, this is the seat of honor, to which, on entering, the guest is bowed. On departing, he is accompanied by the host to the staircase, — the drawing-rooms being usually on the second floor, — and when he descends, raises his hat to the ladies as they repeat their adieus.

Precisely at six o'clock, ladies take their drive in the alameda of the capital, often passing the remaining hours without air or sunshine, for here, as elsewhere, fashionable women do not accommodate themselves to the laws of nature. In the autumn months there is usually a shower of rain about this time of day; but nevertheless, dame, damsel, and dowager make their appearance, though declining all other exercise, and remaining closeted at home, until, from sheer inertia, a

peculiar anæmic malady results. The only explanation is that in former troublous times a guard was placed at this hour on the paseo, for the protection of health and pleasure seekers, and the habit once formed, common sense has not been able to overcome it.

CHAPTER LV.

DRESS, AMUSEMENTS, AND OCCUPATIONS.

In throwing off the yoke of Spain, Mexico abandoned many of the antiquated fashions and customs of the Spaniards. Among the wealthier classes there was an almost immediate change in dress, equipage, and furniture, which were largely imported from France, though much of the furniture was made in the country, the households of the wealthy displaying a variety of handsome woods, with inlaid tables and bureaus, and elegant curtains and carpets. The clumsy Spanish carriages and horse trappings were discarded for vehicles and equipage of modern pattern and equally durable.

In dress the Mexicans were less fortunate, adopting, as they did, all the fashionable follies of the day. The sombrero, for instance, gave place to the high-crowned, narrow-brimmed hat, and the style was introduced of wearing shoes too small for the feet, with sharp, pointed toes and narrow soles, thus causing not only discomfort but deformity, and forbidding the free use of the limbs. The lower classes adhere as a rule to the national dress, covering the head, if at all, with a scarf, woven of cotton or wool, and sometimes of silk, wrapped round the head and bust, and with one end thrown over the shoulder. In color it is usually black, and may be a mere rag, or of price so high as to be worth its weight in gold, and of texture so fine that it can be drawn through a finger-ring.

Corresponding to the rebozo of the women is the serape of the men, though of a thick, blanket-like substance, sometimes of striped material, and sometimes of a plain color. In the centre of those worn by laborers is a slit through which the head is passed, the garment hanging loosely from the shoulders. Underneath a blouse made of cotton is a white shirt and pantaloons commonly of the same material, a pair of

leathern sandals, a sombrero, and a bright-colored sash tied round the waist completing the costume. In the sombrero material and quality are secondary considerations, size being the main thing, though shape is not disregarded. Felt and straw are most in use, and so great is the demand for both

MEXICAN COUNTRY GENTLEMAN.

descriptions that there are numbers of shops with only felt hats for sale, and others with only straw hats.

As among the wealthier classes in the feudal days of Europe, the men were more gayly attired than the women, so they are still in Mexico, the cavaliers especially being fond of displaying their dress and gaudy equipments on the paseo, in fashions that would elsewhere be considered out of taste. Among the neatest costumes is the suit worn by the country proprietor on

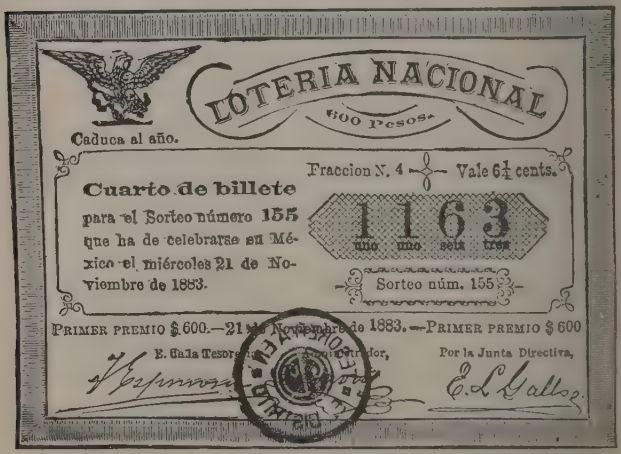
his hacienda, or when riding in the city. It consists of black cloth pantaloons, ornamented with rows of gilt or silver buttons, over them being drawn top-boots with the inevitable Mexican spur, a white ruffled shirt, a black cloth jacket and vest, both of the same length, the former also with rows of buttons, and often trimmed with fur or embroidered in silver or gold, and a sombrero elaborately ornamented, and with the wearer's monogram.

In most parts of Mexico the bull-ring is still a favored institution, except in places where the authorities have decided that these slaughter-pens with their cheap display of bravery in tawdry colors, attended with the bellowings of a tortured and infuriated beast, afford neither a refined amusement nor a fitting method of raising funds for charitable purposes. Other favorite pastimes are the drama, music, the song, and the dance, of which the first has several times received substantial support from the government.

The Mexican is a gambler by instinct, if such a term can be used, and believes as firmly, or rather superstitiously, in his luck as did Napoleon in his star. In the capital, notwithstanding the laws against it, there is gambling among all classes, by some only copper coins being used, by others silver, and by others gold. Though an act passed in 1828 closed many of the gaming-houses, in the following year we find written: "From the highest to the lowest, all gamble; and it is nothing uncommon for senators and officials of exalted rank staking their money in the cock-pit against half-clad laborers." Since that date measures have frequently been taken to diminish the evil, but with little result.

In some countries the business of pawnbroker is deemed disgraceful as well as pernicious, but in Mexico it is under government auspices, and a source of government revenue, the management of the Monte de Piedad, as the principal establishment is called, being confided to a person of acknowledged integrity. It receives whatever of their effects its patrons may

bring; loans a considerable percentage of their value, and charges a moderate interest, allowing the pledge to remain unredeemed for six months before being sold at auction. These institutions are largely patronized by the lower classes, and are indeed veritable curiosity shops. There are branches of the monte de piedad all over the republic, which also conduct a banking and brokerage business, and were largely patronized


LOTERIA NACIONAL
600 Pesos.
Caduca al año.
Fraccion N. 4
Vale 6¼ cents.
Cuarto de billete
para el Sorteo número 155
que ha de celebrarse en México el miércoles 21 de Noviembre de 1883.
1 1 6 3
uno uno seis tres
Sorteo núm. 155
PRIMER PREMIO $600.—21 de Noviembre de 1883.—PRIMER PREMIO $600
Por la Junta Directiva,
E. L. Gallo

LOTTERY TICKET.

during colonial times, when the laws concerning property and the collection of debts were not very clearly defined. If savings banks were more numerous in Mexico, — for there are few even at the present day, — and the people could be induced to patronize them, there would be less need for the services of pawnbrokers. The same remark applies to the state and national lotteries, from all of which the government derives considerable revenue. Doubtless they are fairly managed; but with less gambling and more labor, the public income and that of individuals would be largely increased. At every turn

visitors are accosted by the ticket-vender, who inquires, "Do you not want $10,000 this afternoon?" If you suggest that it would be unfair to deprive him of so excellent an opportunity to benefit himself, the reply is taken in good part, and he turns aside in search of new victims, which, as in other countries, are readily found among people of both sexes and of all ages.

The Mexicans are natural musicians, every military company and every town having one or more bands, whose mem-

MUSICIANS.

bers receive little regular instruction. The son learns from his father the rudiments of the art, and the leader does the rest: the result being that in many of the thousand plazas of

Mexico, excellent music may be heard throughout the soft tropical evenings. Dance-music, with its weird and rhythmic movement, is most in favor, and is played in perfect time and tune; for the ear of the musician is remarkably correct, and his taste almost faultless. The national dance, resembling somewhat the Cuban *habanera*, has a slow, swaying movement, conforming to the strains of the orchestra; and the songs are somewhat of the same description, a striking feature being their melancholy tone. In fact, Mexican music is as individual in its character as are the Neapolitan airs or the German Volkslieder.

As to the fair sex, it may be said that female beauty is somewhat unevenly distributed, comely women being plentiful in some parts of the republic, while in others there are few who, even by courtesy, can be called beautiful. Although women are extremely plentiful, the poor often go unmarried, since a marriage license costs from $5 to $15, equivalent to the hard savings of several months. While civil marriage has been legalized, and the ceremony can be performed at little cost, so devoted are the lower classes to the church that many consider no marriage better than one not solemnized by the priest, who, as a rule, charges for his services more than the scant means of the poor people will permit.

Love-making among the Mexicans is somewhat tinged with romance, and by no means in accordance with the American or English idea of the fitness of things. The gallant appears in his best attire, sometimes mounted on a spirited mustang, on which he passes to and fro in front of the balcony where his inamorata is stationed, occasionally dashing past at full galop, and anon pulling up suddenly and throwing the steed on his haunches. This manœuvre is repeated until the señorita deigns an approving glance; or mayhap the love-sick youth stands patiently for hours, talking through iron-barred windows, or gazing from the sidewalk opposite the spot where the fair one ought to be, but alas! is not. The man seldom asks,

and more rarely obtains, the entrée of the father's household until he enters it as an accepted lover, even then only meeting his fiancée in company with the family, and never tete-a-tete. Marriage is usually proposed, and accepted or refused, through the mediation of a friend, the suitor remaining behind the scene until all preliminaries are arranged, and the dueña never relaxing her vigilance until after the bridal-day.

The Mexican housewife, whether high-born or of lowly birth, takes pride in her household furniture, and especially in her stock of dishes, though on occasions there may be little to place upon them. In one dwelling may be seen walls thickly covered with cheap pottery, and in another cupboards stored with a thousand superfluous pieces, with gilt edge and monogram. Earthen-ware, of soft, red clay and of good quality, is made at Guadalupe, Guadalajara, and at other points; but the best is manufactured at Cuautitlan, the carrier and pedler of the latter commodity being termed an *ollero*. Those who hawk clay figures, representing all types of handicraft, well elaborated, but with little plastic skill, find ready patronage at the hands of strangers. At several places, but especially at San Pedro, near Guadalajara, the Indians display remarkable aptitude in taking likenesses, either by sittings or from photographs. The work is done entirely by eye, no measurement being taken, and the material used is an unctuous, dark-colored clay, which when baked turns to a lighter hue.

As in the days of the Montezumas, feather-work is a specialty in which the Indians excel, producing, not only exact imitations of the feathered tribes, mounted in relief, but also wreaths and intricate designs, representing parti-colored plumage, with remarkable effect.

Near Puebla is the tecali marble, which is of rare and beautiful texture, and largely used, among other purposes, for tables and bureaus. The craft of the goldsmith and silversmith still rank, as before the conquest, among the foremost of the artistic industries of the country. Among others may be mentioned carvings and ornaments in shells, pearls, coral,

and lava, the shawls of Guanajuato, the saddles of Leon, and the horn-work and rebozos of San Luis Potosí.

Among the lower people are manifold trade distinctions, each one with its own peculiar class and occupation. There are, for instance, the *cateiteros*, or wooden-tray sellers, the *petatero*, or seller of reed mats, at a medio or about half a dime apiece, and used as beds by the very poor, of whom there are

OLLERO, OR POTTERY SELLER.

sometimes twenty sleeping in the same room. There are also the *jaulero*, or bird-cage seller; the *cedaceros*, or sieve sellers; the *canasteros*, or basket sellers, and others who make and carry articles in huge loads from town to town, manufacturing and selling them on their way. Then there are also the *cabazeros*, whose street-cry is, "Good heads of sheep hot!" the *cafatero*, or proprietor of a coffee-stand; the *velero*, or candle seller; the *mercillero*, or pedler of hardware; the *tripero*, or

vender of entrails used as the casing for sausage meat; the *pollero*, or chicken seller; the *escobero*, or broom-corn seller; the *nevero*, or ice-cream seller; the *mantequero*, or lard carrier; and the *pirulero*, or seller of *piru*, a red berry used for feeding birds.

There are men, termed *leñadores*, whose lifetime is spent in gathering sticks, from which to manufacture charcoal; there are women called *leñadores* and *casureras*, whose days are

LEVANDERA.

passed in gathering rags; and there are the *lavanderas*, or washerwomen, of whom those of the better class wear a hat over the *rebozo*, while the rest are bareheaded.

On Saturday of holy-week are sold in the streets by the *judero* images of Judas, representing animals, devils, and men of such type as Judas. For those who wish to give the traitor special punishment, effigies are made six or eight feet in

length, and when at night the cathedral bell tolls the hour of ten they are set on fire, and the barking of dogs and shaking of rattles by the *matraqueros*, or those who frighten the devil away, are enough to drive away all spirits, and keep free the face of the earth for a year to come.

POLICEMAN.

All through the night every quarter of an hour is heard the shrill whistle of the policeman. The force is well appointed, and with almost a military organization copied after the French system. The salary is $1 a day both for *guardas*, or day-watchmen, and *serenos*, or night-watchmen, and at that price there is protection somewhat better than is accorded to residents in the queen city of the Pacific, at nearly four times the rate of pay. The belated traveller is challenged by the

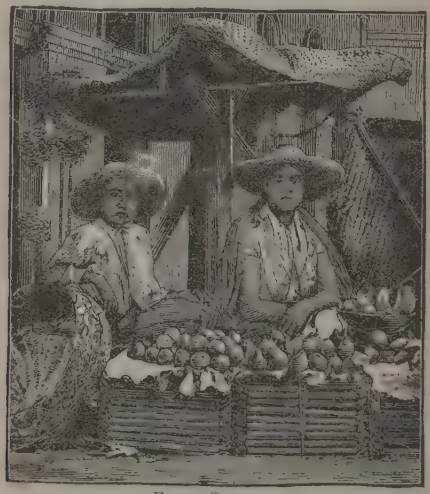
officer as by a sentry with the cry of Quien va? Who goes there? and must promptly respond amigo! a friend. If further questioned, he must answer to the Donde vive? or where do you live? with the name of his hotel or place of lodging. Then he is allowed to pass; but if the reply should be unsatisfactory he is immediately arrested.

Early in the morning the people are astir, this portion of the day being devoted to work. Then comes the noon siesta, and a short afternoon of business or pleasure, though at all hours, from dawn till dark, may be heard the cries of the street-venders, more discordant than any heard elsewhere, except perhaps in London. First is the coalman's *carbasiu-u-u!* which being translated signifies Carbon, señor! then the *mantequi-i-illa!* of the butter seller, and the *cecina buena!* of the pedler of salt beef, followed by the prolonged and melancholy wail, *haycebo-o-o-o!* of the woman whose business is the purchase of kitchen suet.

Thus the day wears along, with ever-fresh variations in the hoarse cries of street-pedlers, from those who sell Puebla mats to the aboriginal Jew in Turkish costume, and fresh from the holy land, with beads and trinkets made from the crosses of all the saints, mustering at this date some 2,500, intermingled with the piteous supplication of the beggar, whose sole capital is his deformity. At all hours of the day and far into the night, there are men, women, and children pedling lottery tickets. In the afternoon is heard the cry of him whose business in life is to sell honey-cakes, or cheese and honey, or ducks, O my soul, hot ducks! or the Caramelos de esperma! bocadillo de coco! Tortillas de cuajada! of the sweet-meat sellers. At each railroad-station the passengers are beset by venders of things eatable and drinkable in almost every shape, and whose babble of cries is somewhat irritating or amusing, according to the mood of the spectator.

On Sundays and on certain feast-days, permission being obtained from the municipality, and payment made according to

the ground occupied, fruits and wares of all kinds, brought from far and near, are spread out on the ground, in nooks of the palace wall, or in booths erected for the purpose around the principal plaza. Natives bring from their mountain homes baskets, chairs, valuable woods, and curiously fashioned musical instruments, and the dwellers on the lowlands bring with them the products of the earth. All of them arrive the



FRUIT SELLERS.

night before, sleeping on the hard ground or harder pavement, and arranging their goods at daybreak. Some of the booths are elaborately decked with flowers and branches, especially those of the vendedora de aguas frescas, or vendor of sweet drinks, such as orange and pine-apple juice.

Water is brought into the capital by aqueducts and distributed by carriers, whose earnings are from fifty to seventy-five cents a day. The Mexican water-carrier is a curious type, and to the thirsty people of the table-land appears as a ministering

AQUEDUCT.

END OF AQUEDUCT.

angel in bronze, his skin, leathern clothes, and crocks being all of that hue; and a most useful color it is, for it wears well and does not show the dirt. His work over, he hastens to the pulquería, for he himself does not drink much water. The method of keeping accounts is somewhat peculiar, being conducted by means of little red berries, resembling beans, and very hard and dry. On depositing a load of water, consisting of a large

WATER CARRIER.

jar and a smaller one, the carrier hands to the housekeeper one of these berries, which he carries in a leathern bag by his side, and which, at the end of the week, are redeemed at the rate of a tlaco, or one and a half cents for each.

Tortillas and pulque are staple articles of consumption, in the manufacture of which hundreds of thousands of persons are employed, the former being to the poor their daily bread and often meat as well. In the outskirts of the cities are places where a dozen women work under a female overseer,

who owns the business. Their chief utensils, the petate, or reed mat, the metate, or stone for crushing the softened corn, and the comalli, or pan, are indispensable articles in every Mexican household. Then there is the *enchiladera*, who sits at the door of the pulquería, and offers hot turnover tortillas,

ENCHILADERA.

containing meat and chile, or sometimes cheese and onions, which are bought at the rate of two for a cent, and sold at two for a tlaco. The breakfast of mechanics consists of beans and pulque, and for supper their usual fare is beans and pulque.

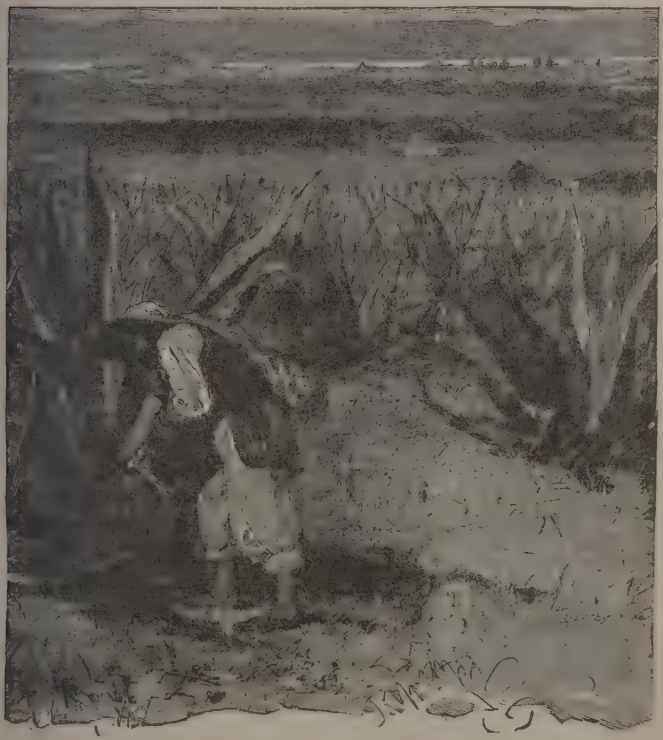
Pulque is the fermented juice of the Agave Americana, of which there are several varieties in Mexico, and east of the capital, near Guadalajara and elsewhere are vast plantations

which yield a large and steady income. As the plant is about to put forth its high, central, flowering stalk, the core is cut out, leaving a receptacle that will contain from three to four gallons, and into which flows the sap which should support the stalk. Twice a day this is withdrawn by means of a long gourd, which is emptied into a sack made of pigskin, and carried on the back. After fermentation, the fluid has the

PULQUEROS.

consistence and somewhat the appearance of milk, but with a perceptible odor, and in this form it is taken to the pulque shops to be sold and drank. At first it is said to taste like a combination of soap-suds, bilge-water, and turpentine; but a liking for it is soon acquired, and it is even said to be beneficial if taken in moderation, though with this as with all other intoxicating drinks, the greater the moderation, the greater the benefit. While passing a pulque field travellers

frequently stop to drink of the agua miel, or unfermented juice of the agave, which is cool and transparent as water, and with a sweet acid taste.



EXTRACTING AGUA MIEL.

A fair type of the original Aztecs may be found among the boatmen and women who ply their trade on the Chalco canal, bringing into the capital flowers and vegetables from the remains of the floating gardens. The boats are of two kinds, one resembling a canoe and usually managed by a woman, the

other flat-bottomed, six or eight feet wide, thirty or forty feet long, and capable of carrying the produce belonging to two or three families. Many of the latter have a cabin in the middle,

BRINGING VEGETABLES TO MARKET.

which forms the home of the occupants, where they work, eat, and sleep.

The Roldan thoroughfare, which is an open canal, bridged over at the intersection of cross-streets, is one of the objects of attraction to visitors, being the principal market-place for produce. Here may be seen many glimpses of life peculiar to Mexico. Early in the day men and women are indefatigable in their efforts to dispose of their wares, while at night the canal presents a gay scene, as the people, after disposing of their produce, are returning homeward, happy with pulque and profit. Between the gate of San Lázaro and Tezcuco, the ancient Acolhuan capital, plies a passenger boat which occupies seven hours in the journey along the canal of La Viga. Although made in a clumsy and slow-moving scow, the trip presents much of interest, the traveller constantly passing between boats and canoes, some of them laden with produce and propelled by natives, whose every motion is a study, and others gayly bedecked and transformed into miniature ball-rooms,

where sturdy Indians keep time to the strains of their rude instruments; while the banks are lined with the dwellings of the poor, and far away to the south Popocatapetl, or Smoking

FREIGHT BOATS AT THE MARKET.

Mountain, forms the background of a landscape on which one never tires of gazing.

Among the finest views in Mexico is the one obtained from the summit of the hill of Cholula, where the visitor stands amid drooping pines, stunted rose-bushes, and porcelain-plated graves, beside the dilapidated wall of the church. It is a

rugged, uneven elevation, rising solitary some two hundred feet above the plain, and is partly the work of nature and partly of man. The winding roadway, paved with smooth stones and containing broad flights of steps, is bordered with thrifty grasses, and the thick shrubbery that covers the hillside is freely interspersed with cactus and the pepper-tree. In front is Popocatapetl, and next to it the scarcely less imposing

TEZCUCO PASSENGER BOAT.

peak of Iztaccihuatl, the White Woman, She of the Recumbent Figure; while in the opposite direction, over the glittering domes of distant Puebla, stands forth Orizaba, white-crested and winged with fleecy clouds.

Below is the city of Cholula, with its long lines of intersecting canals, as when Cortés first saw them, marking the divisions of corn-fields and gardens, lined with plantations of

maguey. A single glance tells the story of its inhabitants,—how the poor, in their small, uncomfortable houses, pinch themselves to maintain the costly services of the great temples, and

HILL OF CHOLULA.

to add to their splendor. The inhabitants of all this rich and fertile valley, given up as a prey to contending armies since the advent of the Spaniards, are now for the first time learning the arts of peace, and are yet greatly devoted to religious rites, as was the case in the remote epoch of the Toltec dynasty, when pilgrims flocked from afar to the shrine of the Feathered Serpent.

Within sight of the hill of Cholula are twoscore villages, marked by the tall, white towers of thrice as many churches, some standing solitary in the open plain, some sheltered by trees and shrubbery, and others being mere hamlets, with a score of dingy and half-deserted houses, clustering around a dingy and dilapidated church.

Puebla has been called the city of churches, with its sixty

or seventy high-domed and broad-spreading temples, about one for every thousand of the half-naked and barefooted natives, who are called upon to support them and their three hundred priests. The state prison is in part a church; in the house of maternity is a church; the state college was once a convent, forming part of a church edifice; and the cathedral, though smaller than that of Mexico, is said to be richer in interior decorations.

But in proportion to population, the squalid though famous little town of Cholula outranks even Puebla in this respect. There is the small church, with its two towers and their huge bells, on the historic hill, rusty without, but elaborately gilded within; there is the large church amid the houses below, near to which the worshippers congregate for the bull-fight after divine service; there is also one to the right of it, and one to the left, with others surrounding them on every side, the simultaneous clangor of their bells during the red glow of sunset giving to the visitor the impression that the entire place is on fire and that the alarm is being sounded.

On the site where are built these churches there once stood no less than four hundred heathen temples; but of all the architectural monuments which in former days crowned the pyramid of Cholula, or clustered round its base, not one has been preserved. The records which have been handed down to us are, however, more distinct even than those which have been sculptured on Egyptian marble or Assyrian frieze. One may still picture to one's self the ancient processions, with their dismal chant and clang of instruments, wending their way through the long, white streets toward the sacrifice; one may see in fancy the bodies of victims hurled over the precipice, as the blood-besmeared priest holds aloft the still quivering heart, and may imagine the beneficent deity, Quetzalcoatl, here taking leave of his people, promising to return erelong with new and celestial blessings.

CHAPTER LVI.

CHURCH, EDUCATION, AND LITERATURE.

Both for good and evil the Roman church became a powerful agent in Mexico, almost from the days of Cortés; for cross and sword followed hand in hand the path of conquest. Frequently the gospel was made the forerunner, and sometimes even the instrument of subjugation, the friar laying a gentle though firm yoke upon the natives, and forming in their missions centres for white settlements and bulwarks against border tribes.

During the viceregal period the church grew rich through its fees and gifts, and the increase in the value of its landed property, until, as was alleged, it possessed nearly one third of the entire wealth of the country. The revenue of its nine sees, together with that of Chiapas, was estimated, at the close of the eighteenth century, at $13,000,000 a year, of which nearly one third belonged to the archbishop. At this epoch the power of the clergy was sustained by many privileges, as by exemption from the jurisdiction of other tribunals than their own, by the influence wielded through the confessional, and by the dread torture-chambers of the Inquisition, which, like the wings of a fallen angel, still cast the dun spectre of its huge eclipse athwart the hemispheres.

With the triumph of republicanism, the church sustained a severe blow, the effect of which was greatly increased by its pronounced attitude in favor of Spain, sustained by an encyclical letter from the Vatican. The hostility thus engendered served to lower its influence, as well as that of the pope. Moreover, the corruption pervading the republican ranks extended to the clergy, members of the cloth being accused of avarice and sensualism, and being dragged more and more into the field of politics, to be bespattered with the abuse and

ridicule of the press, and indecorously buffeted by contending factions.

The result was a growing disposition on the part of the people to restrict their privileges, to render them subject to civil law, to prevent the further accumulation of their wealth, and to withdraw from them the control of educational matters, which had thus far been entirely in their hands. The religious orders were the first to suffer, the number of members of the Franciscan, Dominican, and Augustinian orders decreasing from 7,000 or 8,000, at the close of the eighteenth century, to about 1,700 in the third decade of the nineteenth. In 1834 the missions were secularized, and as they had already outlived their usefulness, there were few among the people at large who regretted this measure, except for the fact that their riches were absorbed by corrupt administrators.

With the regular clergy the struggle was longer protracted. Through their influence over the masses, and by other means, they won many adherents in the ranks of the army and in political circles, and finally ranged themselves openly on the side of revolution, only to become the prey both of friends and opponents, the former encroaching on their substance under the plea of protecting it, and the latter regarding it as lawful spoil.

The constitution of 1857 inflicted a heavy blow on the church, permitting entire freedom in educational matters, together with liberty of the press, subordinating church to state, and embodying the famous laws of Juarez and Lerdo, which abolished the legal privileges of the clergy, and their right to hold real estate, thus cutting at the very root of their political influence. Finally confiscation hastened the blow, their tithes being seized and their fees reduced, while church and state were virtually severed, though an allowance was made to nuns and to deserving friars. In 1859, however, church property was still valued at nearly $200,000,000, with tithes and fees representing annually several additional millions.

Long and bloody was the struggle which achieved the final result, the church even invoking foreign aid, and helping to establish the empire of Maximilian. It was a time of purification for state as well as church, and it was only after a severe contest that the latter yielded. At present all creeds and societies are tolerated; free-masons perform their rites without molestation, and free-thinkers are at least as numerous in Mexico as in the United States, or among the more enlightened countries of Europe.

It may be stated in general terms that the upper classes, while conforming as a rule to the ordinances of the church, do not believe in its dogmas. On the other hand, notwithstanding the restrictions which the government has attempted to place on the influence of the clergy, the masses of the people are yet steeped in ignorance, and yield unquestioning obedience to the priests. With many, however, christianity is but a cloak for the practice of heathen rites, the ritual being supplemented by pagan worship, and the saints of the Roman calendar representing merely the deities of the ancient Aztec cult.

In the year 1871 the protestant episcopal church sent one of its representatives to Mexico, in the person of H. C. Riley, by whom the work of protestant missions was initiated. Soon afterward came baptist, congregationalist, presbyterian, and methodist missionaries, of whom the last have probably been the most successful; for to this sect, a few years ago, the field was virtually conceded. In the capital, a portion of an old conventual building was granted to them, and notwithstanding the opposition of the catholics, they met with a friendly reception from the government. Churches and chapels were constructed; congregations gradually collected, and in 1883 there were more than two hundred protestant ministers in the country, the majority of whom were Mexicans by birth. It cannot be said, however, that as yet the protestants have made much progress in the work of evangelization, although no

special obstacles have been encountered; for in Mexico all religions are tolerated, while none are officially recognized.

In its efforts to advance the cause of education, the church during the early portion of the viceregal period rendered good service. The friars who first arrived in the country instructed the Indians in a wide range of knowledge, and with results so striking as to cause uneasiness among the conquerors. The cry arose that this course was dangerous alike both to crown and colonists, and soon the clergy began to preach against learning as useless and productive of mischief. As late as 1795, Viceroy Branciforte declared that the catechism was all that was needed, and thus instruction was withheld from the great bulk of the population. The schools, maintained for the rich, were entirely under control of the clergy, and the studies pursued were of the most unpractical nature. Mathematics received little attention; the sciences and modern languages were discouraged, and literature was neglected. Many of the provinces were without facilities for a superior education, and sent their sons to Spain or to Mexico, though in 1799 there were but six hundred students in the eight colleges of the capital.

After the new constitution came into force, compulsory education was adopted by almost every state; but was not enforced with sufficient strictness to overcome the prevailing indolence and lenience of parents. There was also great irregularity of method, and a tendency to teach, in the primary schools, branches belonging to higher grades, without due preliminary training. The more advanced institutions of learning also fell short of their ostensible aim, their efforts being directed by incapable teachers, who were also insufficient in number. The university, established in 1553, was practically suppressed in 1833, and actually abolished in 1865, in favor of colleges, among which the law college is the most popular, and the medical college the most in repute. In the mining districts, special attention is given to the study of engineering,

and in several of the state institutions, as well as in the capital, there are professors for this branch of science. There are also colleges for agriculture and the arts, all of them with a more or less extensive range of studies.

Of late years vast strides have been made in educational matters. In 1884 there were no less than 8,586 primary schools in existence, the total number of pupils being 441,453, of whom 115,147 were girls. There were also 133 colleges and schools of higher grade, with 14,498 male and 2,400 female students. For the fiscal year 1883–4, the government expended $353,080 on public instruction, or less than one dollar per head for those in attendance, though for the year 1885–6 the estimate was increased to $701,420. Even the latter amount appears almost trifling, in comparison with the sums voted for similar purposes in the United States, being less than is appropriated in the single city of San Francisco.

As a natural consequence of such misdirected economy, Mexico compares somewhat unfavorably with her northern neighbor. In the United States the proportion of adults and of children over ten years of age who cannot read and write does not exceed ten per cent, though in some sections, especially in the southern states, it is as high as forty per cent. In the Mexican republic, the proportion of those who are entirely uneducated is very much greater. It is but just to state, however, that the importance of education is a question on which all persons and parties agree. The president, the members of the ministry, and the governors of state are most active in promoting the welfare of the common schools, as well as of higher institutions of learning, attending school exhibitions, distributing prizes in person, and in some instances devoting, not only their salaries, but a portion of their private means, to educational purposes.

As a people the Mexicans are eager and quick to learn, and in the rapidity with which they master the mechanic arts are second to no nation in the world. Under proper tuition, they readily acquire all descriptions of handicraft, so that the manu-

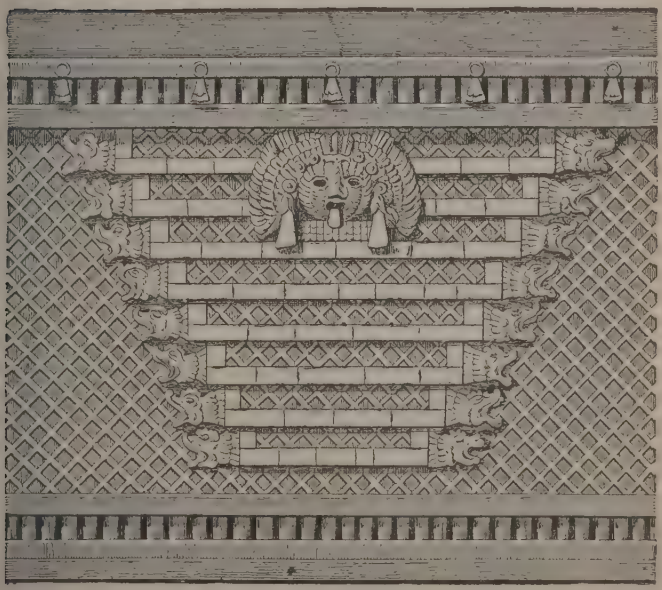
facturer who understands how to treat them will soon find himself at the head of a number of operatives who will work hard and patiently at the rate of from 30 to 60 cents a day. Already there are schools of art and industries for both sexes, and in the capital alone 400 or 500 women are learning upholstery and embroidery, moulding and gilding, printing, bookbinding, and other crafts. Here is an institution of which the people may well be proud, for of all beings on earth the poverty-stricken female, educated as a lady but too proud to work, is most to be pitied.

While schools and colleges have thus been encouraged, libraries have been established in all the leading cities of the republic. On the secularization of the estates of the church, the convent buildings with their vast collections of books, containing many rare and valuable works, became the property of the government and of the people. To these collections have been added modern publications in every department of literature, the national library of St. Augustine containing alone more than 100,000 volumes. The newspapers published throughout the republic numbered in 1882 nearly 300, of which about one third were issued in the capital, with a total circulation estimated at 375,000.

With paintings and sculptures Mexico is abundantly supplied, for during the eighteenth century the viceroys presented the convents and churches with many rare and costly gems. In the picture gallery of San Cárlos, at the capital, one of the finest in America, the Flemish and Florentine schools are well represented, while the productions of some of the native artists are not unworthy of being placed side by side with those of men who have long since become famous in the world of art.

To Mexico, with her numberless scientific institutes, the world of science is also greatly indebted, for among a host of lesser luminaries appear such shining lights as Mendoza, Blazquez, Cubas, and Bárcena, men whose researches in the national museum and the meteorological observatory are worthy of all praise. It has been asserted that hitherto this country has

produced no one deserving of a foremost rank in the realm of scientific investigation. Such a statement requires no refutation; for when the works of such authors as those whom I have named are translated into the principal languages of Europe, they will form a most valuable contribution to the sum of human knowledge.



CHAPTER LVII.

MINING AND MANUFACTURES.

GREED and godliness were the two main incentives which induced the Spaniards to overrun and occupy the lands discovered by Columbus. These two qualities, so apparently opposite, and yet in this people so strangely blended, resulted, not only in the partial extermination of the native American races, but reacting on themselves, dimmed the ancient glory of Spain, and caused the leading power in Europe to become a by-word of the nations. "In this climate," says the historian Gomara, "as in Peru, the people turn yellow. It may be that the desire for gold which fills their hearts shines forth in their faces." It has been related that, within a single century after the conquest, there was shipped from the New World to Spain enough silver to build a bridge across the Atlantic a yard and a half in width and two inches in thickness, or that, if piled together in the form of a pyramid, it would overtop the mountains of Potosí.

More skilled in arms than in arts, the conquerors of Mexico failed to invent or to introduce any new system of mining, adhering simply to the one in use among the Aztecs. Expert as were the latter in the manipulation of metals, the working of the mines was still in a primitive condition, consisting of little more than a skimming of the surface, or washing the sands of rivers. Their smelting apparatus was also of the rudest kind, and the only means at their disposal to increase the heat of their small furnaces was the use of blow-pipes of bamboo. In course of time intelligent miners arrived from Spain, and brought with them improved methods of operation, such as smelting by the aid of bellows. Thenceforth new mines were discovered in every direction, especially in the

northern districts, which proved to be richer in minerals than the region toward the south.

In 1548 the famous silver lodes of Zacatecas and San Luis Potosí were discovered and profitably worked, and soon afterward those of Pachuca and Guanajuato, though the science of mining was still in so backward a condition that only the richest ores could be treated. In 1557, however, one Bartolomé de Medina, a miner of Pachuca, discovered the amalgamation process, a boon of which Mexico has good reason to be proud.

PACHUCA IN 1885.

His plan of extracting the precious metals with the aid of quicksilver produced results so satisfactory that few improvements have since been introduced. Little is known of the discoverer, a fact which almost implies that he derived but slight benefit from an invention which was of vast importance to the mining industry. Ore-bodies which had formerly been considered worthless were now speedily developed; veins held to be unproductive were worked anew, and so rapidly was the process adopted that within five years Zacatecas alone had no less than thirty-five reduction-works.

The most remarkable progress in gold and silver mining occurred during the latter half of the eighteenth century, under the auspices of the board formed by representative miners for mutual aid and protection, and authorized to maintain its own bank, college, and tribunal, the last with privileges almost as exclusive as those of the army and clergy. The consequence was a large increase of production, reaching at the beginning of the present century an average of $23,000,000 a year. To this a certain percentage must be added for bullion wrought into jewelry, and for that which was not included in the official returns. These results were due, not only to the influence of the mining board, but to a reduction in the price of quicksilver, and to a more liberal colonial policy on the part of the home government.

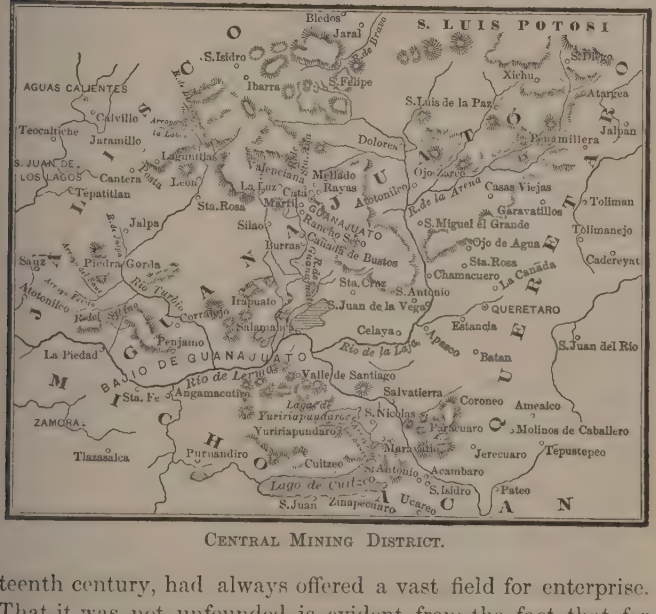
The mining region of New Spain covered in 1800 an area of about 12,225 square leagues, and was divided into 37 departments, with about 500 subdivisions, containing approximately 3,000 mines.

The most prominent districts were those of Guanajuato, Catorce, in San Luis Potosí, and Zacatecas, all of them situated between latitudes 21° and 24°. The first was discovered in the middle of the sixteenth century by muleteers employed on the route between Zacatecas and Mexico. Official returns give the aggregate product from 1701 to 1809 at 37,290,617 marks of silver, and 88,184 marks of gold, valued at $318,935,554. A single vein, named the Valenciana, yielded in less than five years about $14,000,000, and in 1791 as much silver as all the mines of Peru.

Even these results were eclipsed by the veins in the Catorce district, discovered in 1773, and worked with success since 1778. One mine alone, belonging to a priest named Flores, yielded during the first year $1,600,000. The product of the whole district from 1778 to 1810 was estimated at $4,000,000 a year, and the total output of the entire intendencia of San Luis Potosí, from 1556 to 1789, at 92,736,294 marks of silver, representing $788,258,212. Other mines in this region also

yielded enormously, giving rise to the belief that they were practically inexhaustible.

A similar impression prevailed concerning the district of Zacatecas, which, since its discovery in the middle of the six-



CENTRAL MINING DISTRICT.

teenth century, had always offered a vast field for enterprise. That it was not unfounded is evident from the fact that for 180 years ending with 1732 the total product was estimated at $832,232,880. The principal vein, the Veta Grande, produced in eighteen years, from 1790 to 1808, $11,317,792. Even more successful for a time were operations in the district of Sombrerete, where the celebrated Veta Negra mine produced within six months more than 700,000 marks of silver, the ore yielding a net profit of some $4,000,000. To this period belongs the story of the rich miner of Zacatecas, who, on the occasion of his daughter's wedding, ordered the streets from his house to the church to be paved with bricks of silver.

At the time when prospects seemed brightest, the revolution broke out, and within a few years was swept away the work of centuries. Machinery was destroyed, and the mines filled with water and débris; operations ceased in many localities; elsewhere work was carried on in a random and wasteful manner, and the output was decreased by one half. Independence achieved, the government attempted to revive this industry by inviting foreign capital and skill, reducing taxes, and issuing certain regulations. The result was a rush of foreign adventurers, who under heedless and unskilful management for the most part retired with loss. The discouragement which followed, together with the disturbing influence of incessant revolutions, fitful changes of administration, and forced contributions, counteracted the effects of introducing superior methods and machinery, so that during the first three decades of republican rule there was little increase in the yield of precious metals. The total returns for the period 1823–52 have been estimated from the mint statistics at $401,000,000, or an average of less than $14,000,000 a year, Zacatecas taking the lead with over $120,000,000, and Guanajuato and Mexico following with about $90,000,000 and $60,000,000, respectively; next come San Luis Potosí, Durango, and Jalisco, with from $19,000,000 to $25,000,000, while the products of other states sink greatly below these figures. Later the yield increased considerably, the eleven mints in operation in various parts of the republic reporting a total coinage for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1885 of $25,598,849, the amount varying but slightly during several preceding years.

It may be stated approximately that during the nineteenth century, and a portion of the eighteenth, Mexico has furnished one half of the world's supply of silver, in addition to a vast amount of gold, though the latter is by comparison almost insignificant. The total yield of the precious metals between 1537 and 1880 has been valued, according to a very low estimate, at about $3,100,000,000, though one authority gives the amount of coinage almost at that figure, and another cal-

culation, based on a report of the Mexican mint, places the total at over $4,600,000,000. Accepting, however, the smallest estimate, and taking silver at the low average price of one dollar an ounce, the weight of this huge mass of bullion, if the bars were piled together, would reach nearly 90,000 tons, and would require a hundred large vessels for its transportation to Europe. Thus we may gain some idea of the enormous wealth which has been gathered in the land of the Montezumas, and which, stated merely as so much coin, is almost beyond the grasp of human comprehension.

Although mining has thus far been restricted mainly to gold, silver, and cinnabar ores, other metals abound in various parts of the republic. Of late years considerable attention has been given to the iron and coal deposits of Mexico, which are of considerable extent, while there are certainly no want of inducements to develop them. It is somewhat remarkable, for instance, that, with the material needed for the manufacture of steel rails lying almost at their door, the people of Mexico should be willing to pay for them nearly $100 a ton, while the price in England, in 1886, was less than $15 per ton. An abundance of iron ore is found in close proximity to coal deposits, — the one great condition needed for this species of mining, — and it may confidently be predicted that, at no very distant date, steel-works and more extensive iron foundries will be erected, while workshops will be established for the production of minor articles of use, which are at present almost entirely imported.

The development of natural resources must ere long give an impetus to manufactures, for Mexicans possess a decided imitative talent, which requires only incentive and direction. The skill of the natives in certain branches of manufacture excited the wonder of the Spaniards, though they were little inclined to acknowledge it. They were proficient, as will be remembered, in textile and plastic work, and in several industries far excelled their conquerors, their designs in jewelry and

feather fabrics being of a high artistic order. The Spaniards, however, regarded their colonies merely as sources of revenue, and as a market for peninsular goods. Competition in manufactures and arts was therefore so closely restricted as to put an end to several industries, and to sap the vitality of others.

There are few branches of industry which under good management cannot be developed in the republic of Mexico, with the aid of native artisans. "The Indians of Mexico," wrote a keen observer and a citizen of the United States, some fifty years ago, "have been long accustomed to the hard labor exacted from them by their foreign masters, which has in some measure counteracted the indolence produced by climate. Their senses are exceedingly acute, and their capacities quick, and easily applied to any species of knowledge that interests them. They are dexterous imitators of everything they see, performing astonishingly well all kinds of work, with the clumsy, inconvenient tools to which they have been accustomed."

Compared with the Pacific states and territories of her northern neighbor, excluding California, of which country political economists predict that her manufacturing interests will eventually exceed both mining and agriculture in aggregate wealth, Mexico is by no means at a disadvantage. In 1881 the value of textile fabrics manufactured on the Pacific coast of the United States, with a population of some 1,500,000, was estimated at about $11,800,000; in 1879 the volume of such manufactures in Mexico, with a population of about 10,000,000, probably exceeded $30,000,000. In comparing these figures, it should be remembered that a considerable portion of the Mexican population is still attired almost in rags, and resembles somewhat, as to costume and toilet, the Australian sheep-herder, who, it is said, after rising from his couch, lights his pipe, shakes himself, and is dressed for the day.

As early as 1810 there were several large cotton-mills in the central states, producing goods to the value of $9,000,000. In 1879 there were more than seventy factories in operation with

a product valued at $18,500,000, and with an invested capital of $54,000,000. In the production of woollens, Michoacan and Querétaro were the leading states during colonial days. In the former there were, at the opening of the present century, several hundred small mills, if such they can be called, for their entire output did not exceed $600,000 a year. In 1879 there were ten prominent factories in various parts of Mexico, producing cassimeres, serapes, carpeting, and other fabrics, valued in all at $4,500,000.

Silk-weaving first gained a foothold in 1844, and a few years later there were twenty-one factories in operation in the central provinces, with a steadily increasing production, estimated in 1860 at more than $2,000,000.

A feature worthy of note in all branches of textile manufacture is the large amount of capital employed in proportion to the amount of products. To produce her $30,000,000 or $35,000,000 worth of fabrics, Mexico finds use for more than $60,000,000, while with a capital of $5,000,000 or $6,000,000 the Pacific states and territories of the northern union manufacture goods to the value of more than $12,000,000. In the latter instance, however, there is included a large amount of clothing and articles of wear, to which labor adds a second value.

Among other articles, glass and earthen-ware are made to a considerable extent, and both of excellent quality. Long before the conquest the Indians were expert in the manufacture of earthen-ware and pottery, of which numerous specimens are found throughout the country. From time immemorial, also, the maguey plant has furnished writing material, and from it excellent paper is made, this industry having been developed under the care of the government, until in 1860 the product was valued at $6,370,000.

Sugar-refining is carried on in various parts of Mexico on an enormous scale, especially in the state of Morelos. There is also a large number of breweries and distilleries, the maguey plant being chiefly used for distillation, and most of the

states, especially Querétaro, Guadalajara, Puebla, and Saltillo, are well supplied with grist-mills and saw-mills.

It is probable that the value of manufactures in the Mexican republic does not exceed $60,000,000 a year, apart from sugar, flour, and a few other commodities, in which labor bears no proportion to the cost of material. The average would therefore be only $5 per capita of her population, and this in a country where labor is exceptionally cheap and plentiful as compared with other parts of North America, and where there are abundant supplies of raw material. The tardiness of the people in this respect is one of the main drawbacks to their prosperity, causing, as it does, a constant drain upon their resources. It is probable, for instance, that in the production of their $6,000,000 or $7,000,000 worth of woolen fabrics, not ten per cent of the wool clip is consumed, the remaining ninety per cent being shipped to foreign countries, not only unworked, but even unwashed, to be cleansed, spun, woven, dyed, sewn, and not unfrequently returned, with all the added charges of freight and commission.

CHAPTER LVIII.

AGRICULTURE AND STOCK-RAISING.

With a rich soil and a benign climate, Mexico may be regarded as one of the most promising of agricultural countries, though in many portions irrigation is almost indispensable. Even before the conquest, the people were essentially tillers of the ground, and in this occupation were afterward protected by many wholesome regulations, especially by the assignment of land to communities for the benefit of members, each one being entitled to a share. Toward the close of the Spanish domination, titles were granted to holders for a small compensation, and laborers were protected with jealous care, the result being a large increase in the volume of production.

At this date the laws relating to the acquisition of public lands are sufficiently liberal, possession being given after biennial payments to the federal government, varying from about six cents per acre in the state of Coahuila to seventy-eight cents in Guanajuato, Mexico, Morelos, Puebla, and Querétaro.

The leading indigenous cereal is maize, which, in the tierra caliente, yields from two to four hundred-fold, producing two or three crops a year. For 1879 the total harvest was estimated at 5,310,000,000 kilograms, valued at $112,000,000, Jalisco and Guanajuato claiming one fourth of the entire product. This grain, made into tortillas, atole, and other dishes, forms the staple food of the poorer classes. Wheat ranks next, though far less prolific, and is cultivated chiefly in the northern interior, the crop for the same year being 339,000,000 kilograms, worth $17,436,000. Barley is seldom found beyond the vicinity of the larger towns, and rice is little in demand. Frijoles, or brown beans, are also largely consumed, ranking next to maize in yield, and to wheat in value. The returns

for 1879 are placed at 1,541,000 cargas. or loads, each of about four bushels, representing $8,400,000. They are usually eaten stewed with sauce, and seasoned with chile, which supplies in a measure the place of meat. Potatoes, yams, and other tubers are not much in demand, the value of the former product barely reaching $460,000. Plantains are more in request, especially on the coast, where they often supply the place of corn, the trees requiring little care and being exceedingly fruitful.

The maguey is one of the most important plants in the country, on account of the multifarious uses to which it is applied, for dress and household implements, for food, drink, and medicine, for cups, cordage, and shingles, and even for the building of houses. Though extremely prolific, it requires about ten years to reach maturity, and dies after yielding its fruit. New shoots spring from the root, however, and with slight attention a plantation can be made to yield a steady annual income, the plants ready for cutting being valued, on the transfer of an estate, at from five to six dollars each. From this plant, besides pulque, the manufacture of which has already been described, is distilled a far stronger beverage called mescal, and from maize is obtained a spirituous liquor termed chicha.

In this connection may be mentioned one or two interesting traditions long current among the Nahuas. According to one account, a remnant of the giants, who first inhabited Anáhuac, escaping destruction by a terrible hurricane which had obliterated the remainder of their race, retired to the valley of the Atoyac. A number of civilized tribes afterward settled in this region, by whom the former were so detested that they determined to rid themselves of their neighbors. For this purpose a great feast was prepared, to which all the giants were invited, and the fermented juice of the maguey was served to the guests, of which they drank to excess, and were soon stretched unconscious on the ground. Thereupon the others seized their weapons, and slaughtered the prostrate monsters,

burying their colossal bones, in order to obliterate all traces of this detested race.

A more romantic legend is that of Huemac II., who ruled over the Toltec empire between 1045 and 1050. One day a near relative of the monarch, named Papantzin, informed him that his daughter had found in the heart of the metl—the native name of the maguey—a delicious aromatic liquor, and that she had accompanied him for the purpose of presenting to the king the first-fruits of the discovery. Huemac expressed his thanks, and ordered the maiden to be conducted into his presence. Her name was Xochitl, meaning flower, and indicating that in all Anáhuac there was no blossom that equalled her in beauty. Fair as Hebe she stood before her sovereign, and with blushing cheeks and modest mien presented her offering. Well pleased was Huemac with the sweet flavor of the refreshing beverage; but far more was he delighted with the graceful form and exquisite loveliness of the Toltec maiden. On the following day he would again drink of the luscious honey-water, and again it was presented to him by Xochitl. On this occasion the king declared that so noble and beautiful a damsel deserved all the care bestowed on princesses of the royal household, and caused her to be conducted to their palace, sending word to Papantzin of the honor conferred on his daughter. After the death of the queen, the monarch espoused Xochitl, and their son was appointed his successor, ruling well and righteously for many years, under the title of Tepiltzin, or administrator of justice.

The cultivation of the vine and the olive is comparatively neglected in all parts of Mexico. During the viceregal period, the former was prohibited, in order to protect the importation of Spanish wines; and though the restriction was afterward removed, this branch of industry never attained any considerable proportions. Nevertheless there are vast tracts of land in Mexico well suited to the purpose, the state of Sonora being especially favored in this respect, and possessing advantages

not inferior to those of California. The slow progress of viticulture is of course due, in a measure, to the taste of the people for their national beverages, pulque, mescal, and aguardiente, the last being a species of rum. But the profits awaiting future enterprise in this direction will no longer be entirely dependent upon home consumption. Already the bouquet and flavor of the wines produced in the districts of Paso del Norte in Chihuahua, and Parras in Coahuila, are attracting attention in foreign countries, those produced from the vineyards of the former being pronounced equal to a fair quality of Spanish sherry. While the present rate of production is small as compared with future possibilities, it is by no means insignificant. During the year 1879 wine was made to the value of $2,662,671, of which the above-mentioned districts furnished almost the entire quantity, though there are vast extents of territory equally well adapted to viticulture.

As for the olive, though the quality of the oil produced is said to be equal to the best Italian and French samples, Mexico and Guanajuato are about the only states that supply this product, and in such small quantity that the annual yield is valued at not more than $30,000. The government is endeavoring to foster this branch of industry, and in 1885 80,000 plants were forwarded to the governor of Aguascalientes, to be placed at the disposal of any who might wish to obtain them.

Though the cotton-plant is indigenous to the soil, its cultivation and manufacture have been checked, first by the importation of Spanish goods, and afterward by the superior quality and cheapness of English and American fabrics. Under a protective tariff, however, cotton ranks fifth in the list of products, exceeding 25,000,000 kilograms a year, with a value of about $6,000,000. Stout, hand-woven cottons and woollens are produced in many of the larger towns, though as yet the supply is by no means equal to the demand. With increasing facilities for transportation, this industry may be more extensively developed, possibly with a view to exportation.

Sericulture was somewhat neglected until republican times,

when it received encouragement from various societies, especially in Guanajuato and Michoacan. The efforts recently made to increase the production of silk will probably lead to favorable results. During the period of 1870–5, experiments in the state of Puebla met with marked success, and attracted considerable attention. In 1882 a liberal grant was made to one José Fulcheri, who engaged to form a company for the purpose of planting mulberry-trees and founding establishments in twenty different parts of the republic, the government promising for each one an annual subsidy of $12,000, for the term of ten years. In the following year Juan Fenelon obtained an equally liberal concession, to enable him to introduce sericulture into Oajaca, and in Nuevo Leon a society was founded at Monterey for a similar purpose.

As in the days of the Montezumas, a favorite beverage of the Mexicans is chocolatl, or chocolate, prepared in a more liquid form than among Europeans, whipped into a froth, and usually flavored with vanilla. During the colonial period, the cultivation of the cacao-tree so greatly decreased that the demand was supplied in part by importation from foreign countries; and although after the revolution encouragement was extended to this branch of agriculture, it never so far recovered as to keep pace with home consumption. Mainly on account of protective measures, the product increased in the single state of Tabasco from about 9,000 quintals in 1826 to 115,000 quintals, valued at $2,876,000 in 1860. Since the latter date there has been a marked falling off in the yield, the total for the entire country being, in the year 1880, little more than 30,000 quintals, worth some $1,100,000, of which Tabasco still furnished the greater portion. The finest quality is raised in Socunusco, where, in the time of the viceroys, its reputation was so great that a portion of the crop was annually shipped to Spain for the use of the royal family.

In recent years the use of chocolate has largely given place to that of tea and coffee, both of them stronger and more inju-

rious stimulants. The first plantations of coffee were laid out in 1818 and 1819, in the neighborhoods of Córdoba and Orizaba, and since that time its culture has extended rapidly. The product of Oajaca now ranks second to none in the republic, and if due attention were given to cleaning and assorting, would rival the best samples of upland coffee from Costa Rica and Jamaica. At first the progress of this industry was slow, on account of the partiality of the people for their national beverage, chocolate; but when the profits to be derived from the exportation of the berry became apparent, a great impulse was given to its cultivation. In 1845 the quantity produced barely sufficed for home consumption; in 1877 60,000 quintals, and in 1883 more than 140,000 quintals, were exported. In a report recently made to the government of the United States, the minister to Mexico declares that the latter country can produce all the coffee needed for the consumption of the entire union, and of a quality equal to the best.

The vanilla plant is confined to Vera Cruz, Tabasco, and Oajaca, in which states it is indigenous. The aromatic flavor of its pods was known to the Aztecs, by whom it was extensively used in flavoring chocolate, and also as a perfume. It grows almost without cultivation; for after the slip has been planted at the foot of a tree, all the care needed is the occasional pruning of its creepers. In the preparation of the pods for market, however, great skill and experience are needed. They are first dried in the sun, being carefully screened from the wind by curtains of matting, and then rolled up in woollen cloths and submitted to a sweating process, after which they are again dried. The utmost delicacy is required in these operations, for it is said that a single blemished pod will spoil an entire box during transportation to Europe, where a considerable portion of the crop is marketed.

The production of cochineal and indigo shows a considerable decrease, due partly to the substitution of mineral dyes, and also to the superior quality of Guatemala indigo. The entire yield of the latter was valued in 1879 at $358,000, while at the

beginning of the century the yearly export almost reached that amount. Of cochineal the value has decreased from about $3,000,000 at the close of the colonial period to less than one fourth of that amount during the present decade.

Under the viceroys, the sale of tobacco, which was a government monopoly,—its cultivation being restricted to the province of Vera Cruz,—yielded an annual profit of no less than $4,000,000; and it was not until several years after the revolution that all restrictions on its production and sale were removed. In 1879 the value of the crop was estimated at $2,006,153, more than three fourths of which was produced in Vera Cruz and Jalisco. Almost the entire product is required for home consumption, only about one twentieth of the total being exported, while imports of raw and manufactured tobacco are of considerable amount.

As with its flora, so with its fauna, Mexico forms a connecting link between Central and Northern America. In common with the former, it contains the puma, jaguar, tapir, sloth, iguana, alligator, boa, scorpion, and several species of monkeys; while the wolf, coyote, bear, bison, squirrel, otter, beaver, rattlesnake, and many varieties of wild fowl connect it with the north.

Nearly all the domestic animals found in Europe and the United States thrive well in Mexico; and in the plains of the central plateau, as well as in the northern states, are vast herds of cattle, horses, and sheep, some of the more properous farmers owning from 25,000 to 30,000 head of oxen. For the introduction of sheep-farming the country is indebted to Viceroy Mendoza, this industry being at first under the exclusive control of the Spaniards, though in later years it passed into the hands of Indians. During the eighteenth century flocks multiplied rapidly, and the factories at Querétaro, Puebla, and Valladolid converted annually some 450 tons of wool into fabrics. Hogs may be found in every cabin and on every plantation, being most abundant in Yucatan, where the sur-

face is too dry for general stock-raising. Mules have ever been in great demand for various purposes, but especially as beasts of burden; for on account of the configuration of the country and the want of good roads, animals have until recently been used almost exclusively for purposes of transportation. Great efforts have been made to improve the breed of horses, which, though hardy and capable of great endurance, are lacking in size and power.

In past years stock-raising suffered greatly in the northern districts from horse and cattle stealers, and from marauding bands of Indians. In the state of Nuevo Leon, for instance, the total value of all kinds of stock decreased from $2,250,550 in 1851 to $1,116,200 in 1872, and this notwithstanding prices had doubled during the interval. This evil is, however, a thing of the past, and it is certain that Mexico, and especially northern Mexico, is destined to become famous as a stock-breeding country. The prospects for this industry are of the brightest; and notwithstanding all drawbacks, the total increase between 1860 and 1879 was estimated at fully sixty per cent. In the latter year, the total number of horned cattle, horses, sheep, goats, and hogs was placed at 24,560,000, and valued at $115,480,000, the prices being for cattle $8, for horses $10, for sheep and goats $1, and for hogs $7.

A feature in the system of agriculture is the division of the country into sections, devoted to special products, as in one place corn, in another maguey, in a third tropical fruits, and in a fourth cattle. This is due in part to the temperature of the three zones known as the tierra fria, tierra templada, and tierra caliente, of which mention is made in the opening chapter of this work; and also to inequality of rainfall, which in the south lasts for half the year, on the plateau for four months, and in the tierra caliente is extremely irregular. Many districts have suffered from the wanton destruction of forests, which has also caused a serious diminution in the production of dye-woods and the more valuable kinds of timber.

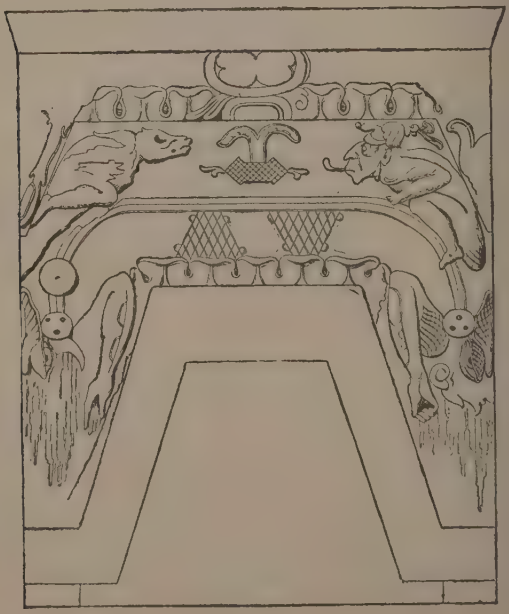
In order to repair this waste, measures have been taken to insure replanting, a single contract awarded by the government requiring that 2,000,000 trees of various kinds should be planted in the lake valley within four years, commencing with the 15th of March, 1884.

Among the drawbacks to agriculture are the concentration in a few hands of vast tracts of land, and the degraded condition of agricultural laborers, whose indolence and improvi-

PLOUGHMAN.

dent habits are encouraged by a genial climate and bountiful soil, which supply the necessaries of life almost without labor. Both evils are disappearing, however, before the measures that have been taken to instruct and elevate the masses, and to wrest from monopolists a portion of their land, under the pressure of taxation. With the opening of roads, railways, and steamship lines, the working classes are beginning to feel the stimulating effect of a more urgent demand for labor and its products, and are being gradually aroused from their apathy. The steady increase in the number of foreign colo-

nists, with their thrift and enterprise, and their improved methods and machinery, tends, moreover, to arouse a spirit of emulation. For this purpose have also been established numerous agricultural colleges, under government patronage, and societies and exhibitions, with general or special objects. With such influences at work, the agricultural possibilities of the country and the prospects of her peasantry are far from discouraging, and need only a continuance of the present feeling of security and of the present stability of government; for labor, like capital, avoids a country which is constantly subject to political disturbance.



CHAPTER LIX.

REVENUE, COMMERCE, AND COMMUNICATION.

The jealousy and exclusive policy of the Spaniards with regard to their New World possessions was clearly indicated in their commercial regulations, most of which were framed with a view to securing for the mother country all the benefit that could be derived from the Indies. Not only were many of the productions of the colonies interdicted or discouraged, but intercourse with foreigners was forbidden. Spain was the only market to which they might resort, and to enforce this restriction, colonists were excluded from the carrying trade; port privileges were confined to a few localities, and even intercolonial traffic was kept within bounds.

Further than this, the supply of goods imported from Spain was so restricted by monopolists as to command exorbitant prices. When, in later years, despite the incentive of numerous and exclusive markets, Spanish manufactures rapidly declined, the ports of the peninsula became entrepôts for the colonies, thus causing the collection of heavy dues at both sides, amounting, at the opening of the present century, to nearly 40 per cent in Spain, and more than 65 per cent in Mexico. The natural result was an immense contraband trade, countenanced by corrupt officials, and carried on openly in time of war, to the derangement of legitimate commerce, which was further hampered by forced loans, by a debased coinage, and by church interference, not to mention the raids of corsairs and privateers, whereby the Spaniards and the Spanish colonies suffered the loss of many hundreds of millions.

After the revolution, exorbitant tariffs were still maintained under republican rule, ostensibly with a view to protect native industries, but really to supply the wants of needy and im-

provident ministries. Moreover, the war of independence still caused a heavy drain in the form of forced loans and contributions, in addition to those which had before been extorted in behalf of an impoverished monarchy. When the republic was established, its liabilities exceeded $75,000,000, of which $40,000,000 were recognized. For many years afterward the treasury was allowed to drift at the mercy of constantly changing governments, while the several states contributed their quota only as they saw fit. Frequent and sweeping changes and reductions were also made for the purpose of allaying popular clamor. These ill-judged measures were of course injurious to the various industries, and reacted on the administration for the time in power, compelling it to make good deficiencies by fresh taxation.

Such timid and experimental government was the main cause of the frequent pronunciamientos and civil wars, rousing to revolt not only the oppressed and discontented people, but even the soldiery and officials, whose pay was reduced or withheld. While revolutions afforded a momentary relief for a class or faction, they served as a rule to increase the burdens laid upon the masses, and thus to pave the way for new uprisings.

Recourse was therefore had to loans, interior and foreign, the latter pregnant with untold evil. One of $32,000,000, raised after the close of the revolution, yielded as net proceeds to the government only $11,000,000, and yet in the year 1841 the former amount had been swelled with interest and arrears of repayments to $49,000,000. Reductions, consolidations, and other arrangements were proposed and in part effected; but the constant deficit compelled a disregard of other obligations. Hence came foreign intervention in behalf of creditors, and finally the empire of Maximilian, this brief episode in the history of the nation adding more than $250,000,000 to the national debt. Though a portion of it was ignored, the republic was compelled to pay for the assistance rendered in throwing off the yoke of the French, and in 1883 the national debt

amounted to nearly $150,000,000, or about $12 per capita of the population. Of this amount, $50,000,000 consisted of interior consolidated loans, and the remainder was due to foreign bond-holders, England being the largest creditor.

While the indebtedness of Mexico, considering her population, may appear trifling as compared with that of the United States and the leading powers of Europe, it must be remembered that her resources are as yet but little developed, and that the population is for the most part in a condition of extreme poverty. That the people are nevertheless capable of bearing their burdens, is indicated by the rapid increase in the national revenue, which is out of all proportion to the growth of population and the increase in the value of commodities.

For the decade ending June 1883, the receipts of the maritime and frontier custom-houses amounted to $134,328,554, or a yearly average of $13,432,855, against less than $9,000,000 for the previous decade, the amount collected for the fiscal year 1883–4 being $17,423,529, and the total income from all sources $28,284,928; while for 1885–6, $38,903,353 was voted by congress for the expenses of the nation. The sources from which this income was derived were thirty-one in number, among the principal items, apart from customs and excise, being the sales of public lands, the rent of buildings and real estate belonging to the government, the postal and telegraph services, the earnings of government railroads, the interest and sale of the bonds of railroad companies, held by the government, consular fees, the coinage, and lastly the national lottery. The estimates of expenditure for the year 1885–6 included $1,007,144 for the legislative department, $432,393 for the judiciary, $3,441,616 for general government, and $12,138,436 for the army, which on a peace footing consists of 22,500 men.

For the last years of the viceregal period, the total of exports and imports averaged about $22,000,000, the difference in favor of the former being at least $1,000,000; but at that

date exports consisted almost entirely of the precious metals, and of goods transshipped from Asiatic ports, by way of Acapulco and Vera Cruz. After that period the total increased steadily, though by no means rapidly, until for 1882 exports

PORT OF ACAPULCO.

were valued at $30,000,000, with imports of about equal volume, though two thirds of the former still consisted of gold and silver, sent abroad in exchange for dry goods, hardware, machinery, provisions, and other commodities, most of which could have been produced or manufactured at home.

During the war of independence a considerable portion of the commerce of Mexico fell into the hands of the United States; but after that period, England secured the bulk of the trade. Although for years after 1867 diplomatic relations with the latter country were suspended, Great Britain still retained control of the commerce of the republic, taking in 1882 about $10,000,000 worth of her sugar, cochineal, hides,

and other exports, and supplying about two thirds of all her imports.

Until recent years, internal communication was limited to the bridle-paths which led from the valley of Mexico, across the terrace-lands and sierras, to the Atlantic and Pacific ports, and to a score or so of coach or diligence lines, all under one management. Work on the railroad from Vera Cruz to the capital was commenced in 1842; but so slow was its progress, that twenty-three years later less than a dozen miles had

City of Orizaba.

been completed. After that date, however, operations were continued with vigor, and in 1873 the road was completed by way of Orizaba, and with a branch line to Puebla, at a cost of about $40,000,000.

Recognizing the advantage of a regular system of railways, — all the more necessary on account of the lack of navigable rivers and of wagon-roads, — the government foresaw the impulse that a few trunk lines would give to traffic, and granted liberal concessions to several parties, with subsidies of about $8,000 per kilometre. Nominally, this assistance was granted to state governments, although the contracts afterward passed

into the hands of private companies. In all this there was little speculation, and no expectation of enormous profits, the object being merely the opening of roads where the population and the resources of the country appeared to demand them.

The first of these lines was the Mexican Central, commenced in 1880, and completed four years later. Starting from Paso del Norte, where it connects with the Atchison, Topeka, and Santa Fé line, and thus with the North American network of railroads, it runs through Chihuahua, Durango, Aguascalientes, and Querétaro to the capital, a distance of more than 1,200 miles.

An interoceanic line entirely within the territory is being constructed across the isthmus of Tehuantepec. Other lines have been projected or are now in progress in various directions, and though some of these enterprises may lie dormant for years, there is little doubt that the railroad system of Mexico will in time be fully developed. It is not very probable, however, that the gigantic project now under contemplation, of connecting all the Pacific coast termini by a line running from Fort Yuma to the frontier of Guatemala, and thence southward through the continent into Chile, will be realized in the very near future. The present demand is for small and inexpensive lines, such as the one from Esperanza to Tehuacapa, which was built by the government at a cost below the subsidy rates, and on a system well suited to the requirements of the country.

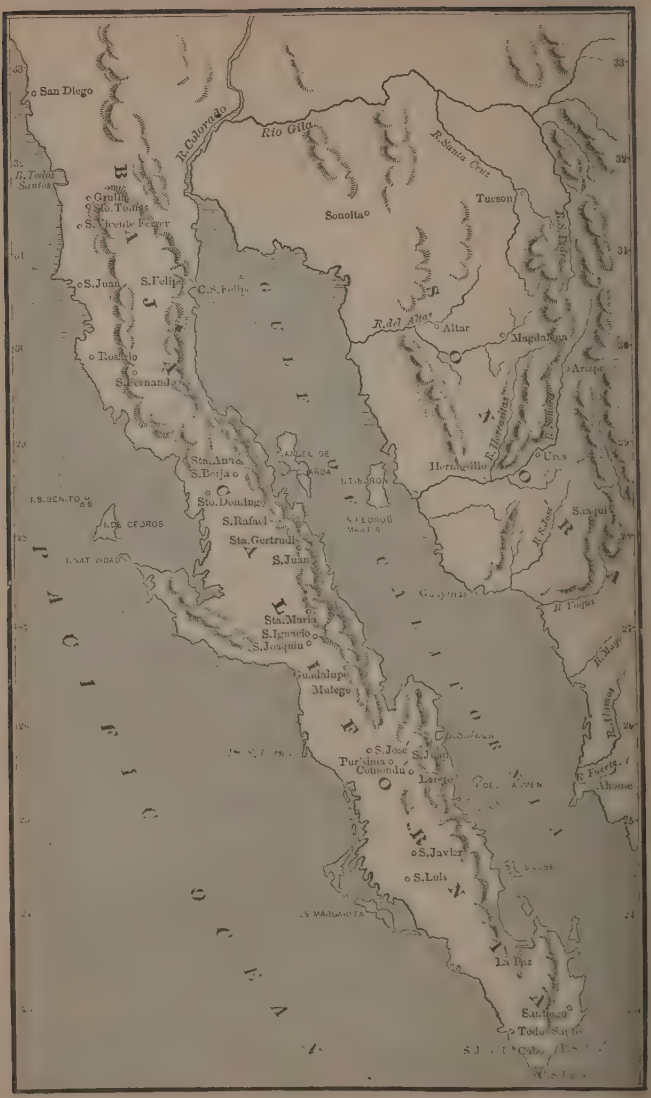
At the close of the year 1882 there were open for traffic 2,220 miles, and for that year the number of passengers was 8,250,000, while the quantity of merchandise conveyed amounted to about 273,000,000 tons, the net earnings being $4,700,000, or at the rate of $4,000 per mile.

The telegraph system of Mexico has more than kept pace with that of her railroads. In 1851 the first line was opened between Mexico and Puebla; in 1886 Mexico was in telegraphic communition with all the state capitals, and through the Mexico-Matamoras line with the United States and the

remainder of the world. In 1882 there were 8,150 miles in operation, through which there were forwarded 750,000 messages, or in the proportion of about one to every fourteen inhabitants.

In concluding this chapter, it may not be without interest to give some account of the pearl-fisheries in the gulf of California, or Sea of Cortés, as it was formerly termed, for at one time they were a considerable source of wealth. Long before the arrival of the Spaniards, the natives of Lower California decorated themselves with pearls of great size and value, and it was by their exchange for European trinkets that the invaders first ascertained that the pearl-oyster was found on the coast. Near the close of the sixteenth century Sir Francis Drake reached the coast of the peninsula, and his men received presents of these gems from the natives. About the same time a magnificent specimen, found off the island of Margueríta, weighing 250 carats, and valued at $150,000, was presented to Philip II. Soon afterward the inhabitants of Sonora and Sinaloa began to engage in pearl-fishing and barter, the Indians having been pacified by the establishment of missions.

The accounts which the old chroniclers have handed down to us of the enormous quantities of pearls obtained during the eighteenth century are almost fabulous. Among other adventurers of whom mention is made was a soldier of the presidio of Loreto, named Antonio Osio, who collected such an immense number from the beds in the neighborhood of Mulegé that he measured them by the peck. It is said that his attention was first called to that locality in 1740, when some of the natives brought to the mission of San Ignacio a large number of pearls which they had extracted from oysters thrown upon the beach by the waves. Thereupon he removed to this favored spot, securing the first year 127 pounds weight of pearls, and in the following year nearly double that quantity. A magnificent necklace of round and pear-shaped pearls was presented to the



LOWER CALIFORNIA.

queen of Spain by the discoverer of these virgin beds. But Osio's wealth was the cause of his death. Unable otherwise to guard his vast treasure, he buried it in a secret spot, not even revealing its location to his own family. Soon afterward he was murdered by a party of ruffians to whom he refused to divulge his secret, and to this day his riches lie buried underground. Portions of the tanks in which he decomposed the oysters are still to be seen a little to the north of Mulegé, and the richness of the beds is indicated by the fact that for a long period the tax upon them, or, as it was termed, the royal fifth, was farmed for $12,000 a year.

During the colonial period all who wished to obtain licenses to engage in pearl-fishing could do so on condition of setting apart, as the share of the crown, one fifth of the proceeds. After the revolution, the several administrations appear to have been indifferent to this source of wealth, and about the middle of the present century the pearl-oyster beds, being without supervision or protection, were threatened with exhaustion. In 1857 regulations were made dividing them into four sections, to be worked annually in rotation, and rented in subdivisions to the highest bidder, and though never strictly observed, these measures have not been without effect.

Vessels of from 15 to 30 tons, having on board from 30 to 50 divers, most of them Yaquis, were fitted out for the pearl-beds at the port of Guaymas. Each craft, with its canoes and boats, was called an armada, and was under the direction of an armador, who made arrangements with the Indians as to supplies, operations, and advances of money, the latter also usually receiving a share of the proceeds. The season lasts from the beginning of May to the end of October, during which interval fine weather prevails, and the water is of suitable temperature.

When the ground has been reached, the divers make their descent, provided with nets fastened to the waist, in which to place the oysters, and also with short sticks, sharpened at both

ends, with which to dislodge them. At first the Yaqui cannot reach a depth of more than five or six fathoms, and remains only a few seconds under water, being often seized with hemorrhage of the ears and nostrils. After a little practice, however, he can descend to a depth of ten or fifteen fathoms, and retain his breath for two minutes, this being about the limit of his endurance, though it is said that men have been known to stay under water for four and even five minutes. Collecting as many oysters as possible, he rises quickly to the surface, deposits them in nets suspended from the side of the vessel, and after an interval of rest, again proceeds on his errand. The work begins at seven or eight o'clock in the morning and continues until noon, or sometimes an hour afterward; for during this part of the day the sea is calm, and the sunbeams penetrate to a considerable depth. The vessel then returns to shore, which too often becomes the scene of strife and drunkenness; for the Indians are freely supplied with liquor — and that of the vilest quality — by unscrupulous traders.

The Yaqui is a rapid and powerful swimmer, and pursues his calling without the assistance of ropes, weights, or other appliances in use among the pearl-drivers of Panamá and Ceylon; nor does he show the least fear of the sea-monsters whose element he invades, and to whose attacks he is constantly exposed. The most dangerous of these enemies are the shark, the manta raya, or devil-fish, and the huge cuttle-fish. Many are the stories told of limbs lopped off, and men who have been mutilated for life; while in other instances the blood-stained waters alone revealed the fate of the unfortunate victim.

In single combat the shark usually gets the worst of the encounter, and if the diver be provided with a knife, which seldom happens, however, the monster is disembowelled by a few rapid cuts with the blade. But the pointed stick is usually the only weapon carried by the Indian, who when attacked calmly waits until the shark has turned on his back, and then

thrusts it into his open mouth, one point being planted in the upper and the other in the lower jaw. The animal is thus prevented from closing his mouth, and the diver escapes. It is only when taken by surprise that the Yaqui loses his life, and when that occurs, his companions immediately plunge, knife in hand, into the crimson-dyed sea to avenge his death.

The manta raya is still more formidable than the shark, this monster measuring, when at maturity, nearly twenty feet, and sometimes attaining a weight of 1,000 pounds. Nearly five eighths of its length consists of a spinose tail, all the upper parts of the body being covered with sharp spines, and the front portion provided with huge, rubber-like flaps, twelve feet across. His mode of attack is to poise himself above the pearl-fisher, following his every movement, and overshadowing his victim with his immense flaps, in which the diver is finally infolded and suffocated, unless he has the ingenuity to elude his foe, for once infolded in that death-embrace, there is no possibility of escape.

For the season of 1855 the sale of pearls and shells amounted to $37,800, and the net profit to $24,477, the returns fluctuating from year to year, but showing on an average a considerable increase, the total yield for 1869 being valued at $87,000, and for 1875 at $220,000. Between 1580 and 1857 it has been estimated that 1,911,300 quintals of shells were taken from the waters of Lower California, producing 2,770 pounds of pearls, worth $5,540,000.

Until recent years, shells which yield mother-of-pearl were but little prized. During the viceregal period a collection of nacre shells was occasionally forwarded to the viceroys; but it does not appear that they became an important article of trade until the sixth decade of the present century, when an increasing demand rendered their shipment profitable, and added largely to the proceeds of the pearl-fisheries. Unfortunately, this new source of profit also proved injurious to the

industry, no discrimination being used in selecting the oysters, which were gathered without regard to age, and thus the beds were wantonly impoverished. Of late more attention has been paid to their preservation; but a long period of comparative rest and careful supervision will be needed to restore the pearl-fisheries even to a semblance of their former productiveness.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

OF THE

RULERS OF MEXICO, AND DATES UPON WHICH THEY ASSUMED OFFICE.

GOVERNORS.

Hernan Cortés, governor and captain-general. Oct. 15, 1522.
Licenciate Luis Ponce. July 2, 1526.
Licenciate Márcos Aguilar. Aug. 1, 1526.
Alonso de Estrada and Gonzalo de Sandoval. March 1, 1527.
Alonso de Estrada. Aug. 22, 1527.

FIRST AUDIENCIA.

Nuño de Guzman, president; Matienzo, Delgadillo. Dec. 1528.

SECOND AUDIENCIA.

Sebastian Ramirez de Fuenleal, president; Lic. Juan de Salmeron, Alonso Maldonado, Francisco Ceinos, Vasco de Quiroga. 1531.

VICEROYS.

Antonio de Mendoza, commander of Socuéllanos in the order of Santiago. April 17, 1535.
Luis de Velasco. Nov. 1550.
Gaston de Peralta, marquis of Falces. Oct. 16, 1566. Visitador Alonso Muñoz ruled till the coming of the fourth viceroy.
Martin Enriquez de Almansa. Nov. 5, 1568.
Lorenzo Suarez de Mendoza, count of la Coruña. Oct. 4, 1580.
Pedro Moya de Contreras, archbishop of Mexico and visitador. Sept. 25, 1584.
Álvaro Manrique de Zúñiga, marquis of Villa Manrique. October 17, 1585.
Diego Romano, bishop of Puebla. Visitador.
Luis de Velasco, second of the name. Jan. 27, 1590.

Gaspar de Zúñiga y Acevedo, count of Monterey. From Nov. 5, 1595, to Oct. 1603, when he departed for Peru.

Juan de Mendoza y Luna, marquis of Montesclaros. From Oct. 27, 1603, when he made his public entry accompanied by his wife Ana de Mendoza, to July 1607, when he went off to Peru.

Luis de Velasco, second of the name, for the second time. From July 2, 1607, to June 1611.

Friar García Guerra, of the order of Preachers, archbishop of Mexico. From June 19, 1611, to Feb. 22, 1612, date of his death. Oidor Otálora ruled till Oct. 28, 1612.

Diego Fernandez de Córdoba, marquis of Guadalcázar. Came with his wife María Riederer; ruled from Oct. 28, 1612, to March 14, 1621. The audiencia then governed a few months.

Diego Carrillo de Mendoza y Pimentel, marquis of Gelves and count of Priego. From Sept. 12, 1621, to Jan. 15, 1624. He fled from the enraged populace to a church, leaving the government in the hands of the audiencia, which ruled till his successor arrived.

Rodrigo Pacheco Osorio, marquis of Cerralvo. From Nov. 3, 1624, to Sept. 16, 1635.

Lope Díaz de Armendariz, marquis of Cadereita. From Sept. 16, 1635, to Aug. 28, 1640.

Diego Lopez Pacheco Cabrera y Bobadilla, marquis of Villena, and duke of Escalona, a grandee of Spain. From Aug. 28, 1640, to June 10, 1642.

Juan de Palafox y Mendoza, bishop of Puebla. From June 10, 1642, to Nov. 23d of the same year.

García Sarmiento de Sotomayor, count of Salvatierra, marquis of Sobroso. From Nov. 23, 1642, to May 13, 1648, when he was transferred to the viceroyalty of Peru.

Márcos de Torres y Rueda, bishop of Yucatan. Though commissioned not as viceroy, but merely as governor, he is placed in the series of viceroys, in order not to cause interruption therein. He began his rule upon the departure of his predecessor for Peru on the 13th of May, 1648, and retained the office until the 22d of April, 1649, when he died, and was interred in the church of San Augustin.

Luiz Enriquez de Guzman, count of Alba de Liste, marquis of Villaflor. From June 28, 1650, when he took the oath of office, making his public entry on the 3d of July, to Aug. 1653; he then went off to Peru, having filled the three years' term as viceroy of Mexico.

Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva, duke of Alburquerque, grandee of Spain. Entered Mexico on the 15th of August, 1653, accompanied by his wife Juana de Armendáriz, marchioness of Cadereita, and ruled till Sept. 1660, being promoted to the viceroyalty of Sicily.

Juan de Leiva y de la Cerda, marquis of Leiva and of Ladrada, count of Baños. His rule was from Sept. 16, 1660, to June 1664.

Diego Osorio de Escobar y Llamas, bishop of Puebla. From June 29, 1664, to Oct. 15th of the same year.

Antonio Sebastian de Toledo, marquis of Mancera. From Oct. 15, 1664, to Dec. 8, 1673. He brought his wife Leonor Carreto, who died at Tepeaca on her journey back to Spain.

Pedro Nuño Colon de Portugal, duke of Veraguas, marquis of Jamaica, grandee of Spain, and knight of the Golden Fleece. From Dec. 8, 1673, when he made his public entry, to the 13th of the same month and year, when he died.

Payo Enriquez de Rivera, of the order of Saint Augustine, archbishop of Mexico. From Dec. 13, 1673, to Nov. 30, 1680.

Tomás Antonio de la Cerda y Aragon, count of Paredes, marquis of La Laguna. From Nov. 30, 1680, to a similar date in 1686.

Melchor Portocarrero Laso de la Vega, count of la Monclova. From Nov. 30, 1686, to Nov. 1688, when he left for Peru.

Gaspar de Sandoval, Silva y Mendoza, count of Galve. He arrived in Chapultepec on the 11th of Nov., 1688; took possession of the office at the hands of the royal council on the 20th of that month, and made his public entry on the 4th of December. He ruled until February 1696. With him came his wife Elvira de Toledo, a daughter of the marquis of Villafranca.

Juan de Ortega Montañés, bishop of Michoacan. From Feb. 27 to Dec. 18, 1696.

José Sarmiento Valladares, count of Moctezuma and of Tula. From Dec. 18, 1696, to Nov. 1701. He brought his wife María Andrea Moctezuma, Jofré de Loaisa, 3d countess of Moctezuma, a granddaughter in the fourth line of the second emperor of Mexico of this name, through his son Don Pedro Johualicahuatzin Moctezuma. He was created, on the 25th of Nov., 1704, duke of Atlixco, and a grandee of Spain.

Juan Ortega Montañés, a second time. From Nov. 4, 1701, when the command was surrendered to him by the count of Moctezuma, to Nov. 27th of the next following year.

Francisco Fernandez de la Cueva Enriquez, duke of Alburquerque. From Nov. 27, 1702, to Jan. 15, 1711. He had with him his wife Juana de la Cerda.

Fernando de Alencastre, Noroña y Silva, duke of Linares, marquis of Valdefuentes. From Jan. 15, 1711, to Aug. 15, 1716.

Baltasar de Zúñiga, marquis of Valero, duke of Arion. From Aug. 16, 1716, when he made his public entry, until Oct. 1722, when he was promoted to president of the royal council of the Indies.

Juan de Acuña, marquis of Casafuerte. From Oct. 15, 1722, to March 17, 1734, the date of his demise.

Juan Antonio de Vizarron y Eguiarreta, archbishop of Mexico. From March 17, 1734, to Aug. 17, 1740, when he delivered the office to his successor.

Pedro de Castro y Figueroa, duke of la Conquista, and marquis of Gracia Real. From Aug. 17, 1740, when he took charge of the viceroyalty at Guadalupe, to Aug. 22, 1741, the day of his death.

Pedro Cebrian y Agustin, count of Fuenclara. From Nov. 3, 1742, to July 1746. The royal audiencia had ruled from Aug. 22, 1741, until his arrival.

Francisco de Güemes y Horcasitas, first count of Revilla Gigedo. From July 9, 1746, to Nov. 9, 1755.

Agustin de Ahumada y Villalon, marquis of Las Amarillas, a lieutenant-general of the royal armies. From Nov. 10, 1755, to Feb. 5, 1760, the date of his death.

Francisco Cagigal de la Vega. From April 28 to Oct. 5, 1760.

Joaquin de Montserrat, marquis of Cruillas. From Oct. 6, 1760, to Aug. 24, 1766.

Carlos Francisco de Croix, marquis of Croix. From Aug. 25, 1766, to Sept. 22, 1771.

Antonio María de Bucareli y Ursúa, a knight-commander of the order of Saint John. From Sept. 23, 1771, to April 9, 1779, when he died. The audiencia ruled till the arrival of a successor.

Martin de Mayorga. From Aug. 23, 1779, to April 28, 1783.

Matías de Galvez. From April 29, 1783, to Nov. 3, 1784, when he died. The audiencia again had charge of the government.

Bernardo de Galvez, count of Galvez, a son of the preceding. From June 17, 1785, to Nov. 30, 1786, when his death occurred. The audiencia re-assumed the government.

Alonso Nuñez de Haro y Peralta, archbishop of Mexico. From May 8 to Aug. 16, 1787.

Manuel Antonio Flores. From Aug. 17, 1787, to Oct. 16, 1789.

Juan Vicente de Güemez Pacheco de Padilla, second count of Revilla Gigedo. From Oct. 17, 1789, to July 11, 1794.

Miguel de la Grua Talamanca y Branciforte, marquis of Branciforte. From July 12, 1794, to May 31, 1798.

Miguel José de Azanza. From May 31, 1798, to April 30, 1800.

Félix Berenguer de Marquina. From April 30, 1800, to Jan. 4, 1803.

José de Iturrigaray. From Jan. 4, 1803, to Sept. 16, 1808.

Pedro Garibay. Sept. 16, 1808, to July 19, 1809.

Francisco Javier de Lizana y Beaumont, archbishop of Mexico. From July 19, 1809, to May 8, 1810.

Francisco Javier Venegas. From Sept. 14, 1810, to March 4, 1813.

Félix María Calleja. From March 4, 1813, to Sept. 20, 1816.

Juan Ruiz de Apodaca. From Sept. 20, 1816, to July 5, 1821.

Juan O'Donojú. He recognized the independence of Mexico on Sept. 28, 1821.

REGENCY AND EMPIRE.

Agustin de Iturbide, Manuel de la Bárcena, Juan O'Donojú, and at his death Bishop Perez, José Isidro Yañez, and Manuel Velazquez de Leon; these two last named and Bishop Perez were succeeded by the Count de las Heras, Nicolás Bravo, and Miguel Valentin. They constituted the imperial regency.

Sept. 28, 1821. Agustin de Iturbide, emperor, June 21, 1822. Abdicated March 20, and was exiled May 11, 1823. Shot at Padilla, July 19, 1824.

EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY.

Guadalupe Victoria, Nicolás Bravo, and Pedro Celestino Negrete, a triumvirate. Substitutes Mariano Michelena and Miguel Dominguez. March 31 and April 1, 1823. Owing to resignations, the persons who finally had charge of the executive authority were Bravo, Victoria, Vicente Guerrero, or Dominguez, until the republican government became constituted.

PRESIDENTS.

Gen. Guadalupe Victoria. Oct. 10, 1824.

Gen. Vicente Guerrero. April 1, 1829.

José M. Bocanegra, provisional. Dec. 16, 1829.

Pedro Velez, Lúcas Alaman, and Luis Quintanar, in charge of the government Dec. 1829.

Gen. Anastasio Bustamante y Oseguera, vice-president in charge. Jan. 1, 1830.

Gen. Melchor Múzquiz. Aug. 14, 1832.

Lic. Gomez Pedraza. Dec. 24, 1832.

Valentin Gomez Farias, vice-president; Gen. Santa Anna, president. April 1, 1833.

Gen. Barragan, in charge. Jan. 28, 1835.

José Justo Corro. Feb. 27, 1836.

Gen. Anastasio Bustamante. April 19, 1837.

Gen. Santa Anna, provisional president. Oct. 7, 1841.

Gen. Santa Anna, president. June 3, 1844.

Gen. José Joaquin Herrera, provisional. Dec. 5, 1844.

Gen. José Joaquin Herrera, president. Sept. 16, 1845.

Gen. Mariano Paredes y Arrillaga, provisional. Jan. 3, 1846.

Gen. Nicolás Bravo, provisional vice-president. July 28, 1846.

Gen. José Mariano Salas, provisional vice-president. Aug. 22, 1846.

Gen. Santa Anna, provisional. Dec. 23, 1846.

Gen. Pedro María Anaya, substitute. April 2, 1847.

Lic. Manuel de la Peña y Peña, provisional. Sept. 26, 1847.

Gen. Pedro M. Anaya, ad interim. Nov. 2, 1847.

Lic. Manuel de la Peña y Peña, as president of the supreme court. Jan. 8, 1848.

Gen. José Joaquin Herrera. June 3, 1848.

Gen. Mariano Arista. Jan. 15, 1851.

Lic. Juan B. Ceballos, president of the supreme court. Jan. 6, 1853.

Gen. Martin Carrera. Aug. 1855.

Gen. Lombardini. Feb. 7, 1853.

Gen. Santa Anna, dictator. April 20, 1853.

Gen. Juan Álvarez, ad int. Oct. 4, 1855.
Gen. Ignacio Comonfort, Dec. 8, 1855.
Licentiate Benito Juarez, liberal, president of the supreme court. Jan. 19, 1858.
Gen. Félix Zuloaga, conservative. Jan. 22, 1858.
Gen. Miguel Miramon, conservative. Dec. 30, 1858.
Maximilian, emperor. Aug. 1863.
Benito Juarez, constitutional president. Oct. 1867.
Benito Juarez, president, reëlected. 1870.
Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, provisional. July 18, 1872.
Sebastian Lerdo de Tejada, constitutional. Sept. 1872.
Gen. Porfirio Diaz, provisional. Dec. 1876.
Porfirio Diaz, constitutional. April 2, 1877.
Gen. Manuel Gonzalez. Dec. 1, 1880.
Gen. Porfirio Diaz. Dec. 1, 1884.

INDEX.

Acapulco, captured by Morelos, 1813, 352–3.
Aculco, affair at, 1810, 310.
Acxitl, Toltec king, reign of, 13–15.
Administration of justice, among the Aztecs, 65–7; modern, 531–2.
Agriculture, Aztec, 68–9; modern, 599–605.
Ahuitzotl, Mexican monarch, reign of, 26–7.
Allende, I. de, biog., etc., 280–1; portrait, 280; battle of Las Cruces, 1810, 303–6; defence of Guanajuato, 312–15; capture of, 329; execution, 330.
Álvarez, J., president, 1855, 458; portrait, 458.
America, ancient races of, 6–9; discovery of, 138–40.
Amusements, of the Aztecs, 79–84; modern, 555–6, 565–6.
Anáhuac (see also Mexico), name, 3; early records of, 10–29; myths and traditions, 30–41; sacrifices, 41–2.
Antiquities, 109–21.
Apodaca, J. R. de, viceroy, 1816, 365; deposed, 374.
Arista, Gen., president, 1851, 452; administr., 453–4.
Audiencias, description of, 202–5.
Ávila, A. de, exped. to Yucatan, 218–20.
Axayacatl, Mexican monarch, reign of, 25–6.
Aztecs (see also Mexico), annals of the, 19–29; myths and tradition, 30–41; sacrifices, 41–2; empire of the, 43; govt, 43–4; royalty, 44–55; royal palaces, etc., 48–51; nobility, 56–60; priesthood, 60, 63–4; slavery, 61–2; land-tenure, 63–4; taxation, 64–5; administr. of justice, 65–7; agric., 68–9; the chase, 69–70; manufactures, 70–1; fairs, 72–3; currency, 73–4; traffic, 74–5; food, etc., 76–7; feasts, 77–9; amusements, 79–84; dress, etc., 84–6; language, 87–90; hieroglyphics, 90–6; education, 96–9; calendar, 99–103; war and weapons, 104–8; cities, 122–3; dwellings, 124–7; temples, 127–30.
Barradas, Brigadier, invasion of, 1829, 413–15.
Baudin, Admiral, capture of Ulúa, etc., 429–33.
Bazaine, Gen., capture of Oajaca, 1865, 483–4.
Berriozábal, Gen., battle of Cinco de Mayo, 470–1.
Bravo, N., portrait of, 402; vice-president, 1823, 402.
Bustamante, A., revolution of, 1829, 416–17; biog., etc., 417–18; president, 1830, 418; 1837, 427; revolution against, 1832, 420–2; 1840, 435–8.
Calderon, battle of, 1811, 319–23.
Calleja, Gen. F., campaigns of, 1810–11; 309–23; 1813–15, 350–65; capture of Cuautla, 1812, 336–40; viceroy, 1813, 346; administr., 346–7.
Caravel, picture of, 144.
Casas Grandes, ruins of the, 109–11.
Celaya, Hidalgo at, 285.
Centeotl, Nahua goddess, worship, etc., of, 38–9; picture of, 39.
Chalcans, Nahua nation, wars of the, 22–4.
Chalchiuh Tlatonac, Toltec king, reign of, 11.

Chichimecs, Nahua nation, annals of the, 17–21.
Chilpancingo, congress of, 353–5.
Cholula, city, legend of Quetzalcoatl, 36–7; massacre at, 1519, 166–9; description of, 580–2.
Cinco de Mayo, battle of, 470–3.
Civilization, definition, etc., of, 7.
Climate, of Mex., 1–6.
Coats of arms, Mex. republic, 199; Pueblo de los Angeles, 206; Guadalajara, 207; Jalapa, 233; Guanajuato, 288; Valladolid, 300.
Columbus, C., biog., 138; voyages of, 138–9.
Commerce, Aztec, 74–5; modern, 611–13.
Comonfort, I., portrait of, 456; president, 1855, 459; administr., 459–60.
Congress, national, proceedings, etc., of, 378–9, 395, 400–4.
Congress, representative, established, etc., 1813, 353–5; seal of, 354.
Cóporo, Mount, plan of, 360; Rayon's victory at, 1815, 360–1.
Corona, Gen. R., siege of Querétaro, 1867, 495–8; portrait, 499.
Cortés, H., biog., etc., 148–9; exped. of, 1518, 150–4; at Vera Cruz, 154–8; defeat of the Tlascaltecs, etc., 160–6; massacre at Cholula, 166–9; meeting with Montezuma, 170–2; enters Mex., 171; Montezuma's imprisonment, etc., 173–80; la noche triste, 180–4; captures Mex., 1521, 186–94; return to Spain, 200; death, 201.
Cruz, Gen. J. de la, campaign of, 1810, 318–19.
Cuautla, siege of, 1812, 336–40; plan of, 336.
Diaz, P., battle of Cinco de Mayo, 470–3; siege of Puebla, etc., 1863, 474–8; defence of Oajaca, 1865, 483–4; escape from Puebla, 485; recaptures Puebla, 1867, 488–92; recaptures Mex., 507; revolution of, 515–20; president, 1877, 520; 1884, 527; character, 520–2; portrait, 521; administr., 522–5.
Dolores, revolution at, 1810, 282–3.
Dress, of the Aztecs, 84–6; modern, 561–3.
Echávarri, Brigadier, defection of, 391–2.
Education, among the Aztecs, 96–9; modern, 586–8.
Encomienda system, origin, etc., of, 202–3.
Escobedo, Gen., siege of Querétaro, etc., 1867, 495–502.
Escoceses, party, mention of, 405–6.
Europe, affairs in, 1776–1830, 260–7.
Farias, V. G., portrait of, 423; acting president, 424; revolution against, 424.
Floating gardens, description of, 68.
Flon, Gen., operations at Calderon, 321–3.
Food, of the Aztecs, 76–7; of the Mexicans, 253–4, 557–8.
Forey, Gen., siege of Puebla, 1863, 474–7.
France, war with, 1838–9, 428–34; 1862–7, 468–86; Maximilian's empire, 481–506.
Garza, Brigadier, arrest, etc., of Iturbide, 396–7.
Gonzalez, M., president, 1880, 525; biog., 525; administr., 526.
Government, among the Aztecs, 43–4; modern, 528–31.
Grijalva, J. de, exped. of, 1518, 144–7.
Guadalajara, city, Hidalgo at, 315–17.
Guanajuato, city, captured by revolutionists, 1810, 287–97; recaptured by Calleja, 312–15.
Guatemala, slavery in, 209–10.
Guerrero, V., portrait of, 372; revolution of, 1828, 408–9; president, 409, 415; biog., etc., 415, revolution against, 416–17; execution, 1831, 419.
Herrera, Gen. J. J., acting president, 442; portrait, 443; president, 1848, 451; administr., 451–2.
Hidalgo, M., appearance, etc., of, 278–9; portrait, 279; victory at Las Cruces, 1810, 303–7; advance on Mex., 307–8; at Guadalajara, 315–17; defeat at Calderon, 1811, 319–23; capture of, 328–9; execution, 330–1; character, 331–2.
Hieroglyphics, Aztec, 90–6.
Honduras, slavery in, 209.
Huehuetzin, Chichimec chieftain, wars of, 13–16.
Huemac II., Toltec king, reign of, 11–13.
Huitzilopochtli, Nahua god, name, 37; myth of, 37–8; picture of, 38.

Iglesias, J. M., chief justice, 518; portrait, 519; claims the presidency, 1877, 522.

Illustrations (see also portraits, maps, plans, and coats of arms), summit of Popocatepetl, 2; of Iztaccihuatl, 3; of Orizaba, 4; culture hero, Palenque, 5; vase, Vera Cruz, 9; column, Tula, 10–11; monolith, Teotihuacan, 14; fainting-stone, Teotihuacan, 15; terra-cotta head, Teotihuacan, 16; coat of arms, Cuernavaca, 21; bas-relief, Xochicalco, 29; Huitzilopochtli, 38; Centeotl, 39; Mictlantecutli, 40; burial-vase, 41; sculpture on sacrificial stone, 42; terra-cotta image, Zachila, 62; sculptured block, Mapilca, 67; aboriginal coin, 73; pottery from Casas Grandes, 75; terra-cotta musical instrument, 79; serpentine hieroglyphic block, 88; tablet, Palenque, 89; Tabilla de las Cruces, 90; education of Aztec children, 92; the Aztec migration, 94–5; Troano manuscript, 97; Aztec cycle, 99; year, 100; month, 101; calendar stone, 102; sculptured front of building at Kabah, 103; Aztec knight, 106; Aztec weapon, 107; ruins of Quemada, 109; Casas Grandes, Chihuahua, 110; temple pyramid, Cerro de las Juntas, 111; earthen vase, Tula, 112; pyramid of Xochicalco, 113; sculptured block, Huahuapan, 114; ruins, Monte Alban, 114; palace at Mitla, 116–18; ruins at Mitla, 117; mosaic work, 117; pyramid near Tehuantepec, 118; near Papantla, 119; near Puente Nacional, 120; of Huatusco, 120; pyramid at Tusapan, 121; statues, Nophat, 121; Mexico in the time of the Montezumas, 123; palace at Uxmal, 124; carving on Gate Mitla, 125; trace of original structure in wood, Uxmal, 125; palace of Palenque, 126; front of building at Sanacté, 127; caravel, 144; bronze bells —Christy collection, 151; brigantine, 152; navío, 153; musical instrument from Tlascala, 169; pipe from Casas Grandes, 176; skull and cross-bones, Nophat, 184; valley of Mex., 187; stone in plaza, Mex., 196; Mex. rebuilt, 1521, 197; coat of mail, Mex., 198; vase, Tlahuac, 201; globe, Ococingo, 208; Aztec tomb, Chila, Puebla, 213; building at Cozumel, 214; serpent balustrade at Chichen Itzá, 217; watch-tower, Yucatan, 220; coast of Yucatan, 222; painted boat, Chichen Itzá, 223; ancient tomb, Misantla, 233; govt palace, Mex., 239; Mexican beggar, 245; Pueblo, 247; mestiza, 248; zambo, 249; Spanish creole, 252; tortilleras, 253; Mexican landscape, 259; Querétaro, 278; Alhóndiga de Granaditas, 297; bridge at Huejutla, 332; medal of Apatzingan congress, 363; convent of Santo Domingo, 408; plaza of Oajaca, 488; rural guard, 505; Juarez' residence, 509; city of Oajaca, 517; residences of Diaz, 522, 527; house-servant, 527; female servant, 542; vaquero, 544; interior of dwelling, 547; stage station, 549; arriero, 550; cathedral, Mex., 553–4; aldeana, 555; Los Canasteros, 558; Mex. country gentleman, 562; lottery ticket, 564; musicians, 565; pottery seller, 568; lavandera, 569; policeman, 570; fruit sellers, 572; aqueduct, 573; water carriers, 574; enchiladera, 575; pulqueros, 576; extracting agua miel, 577; bringing vegetables to market, 578; freight-boats, 579; passenger-boat, 580; hill of Cholula, 581; Pachuca, 591; ploughman, 607; Acapulco, 612; Orizaba, 613.

Iturbide, Gen. A. de, biog., 302; operations of, 1813, 357–61; portrait, 373; defection of, 373–4; president of junta, 376; quarrel with congress, 380–9; proclaimed emperor, 1822, 383–5; coronation, etc., 386–7; revolt against, 390–4; abdication, 394–5; exile, 396; return to Mex., 396; arrest and execution, 396–8; review of career, 398–9.

Jalapa, city, description of, 232; coat of arms, 233.

Jaujilla, fort, capture of, 1817, 370–1; plan of, 370.

Juarez, B. P., revolution in favor of, 461–5; president, 466; biog., 466; portrait, 467; administr., 468–511; death, 1872, 511; character, 512.

Lamadrid, Gen., battle of Cinco de Mayo, 470–1.

Las Casas, B. de, labors, etc., of, 210–13; character of, 213.
Las Cruces, battle of, 1810, 303–7.
Land-tenure, Aztec, 63–4.
Lopez, Col M., treachery of, 500–1.
Lorencez, Gen., battle of Cinco de Mayo, 468–73.
Lorencillo, capture of Vera Cruz, 226–30.
Lower California, pearl fisheries of, 615–20; map of, 616.
Lozada, M., revolt of, 1872, 514.
Manufactures, Aztec, 70–1; modern, 595–8.
Maps, Martin Behaim's, 1492, 137; Juan de la Cosa's, 1500, 139; Johann Ruysch's, 1508, 140; Peter Martyr's, 1511, 141; Ptolemy's, 1513, 142; of Yucatan, 143; of Vera Cruz, 231; Guanajuato, 282; Hidalgo's march, 302; field of Hidalgo's operations, 303; field of revolutionary movements, 1810–11, 311, 326; campaigns in Puebla and Vera Cruz, 342; Oajaca, 345; districts occupied by the revolutionists, 1813, 348; campaign in the east, 1813, 350; eastern district, Barradas' campaign, 414; Texas, 445; Lower California, 616.
Marquez, Gen., defence of Querétaro, etc., 1867, 494–6.
Maximilian, Ferdinand, emperor of Mexico, 1863, 479–82; portrait of, 483; Napoleon's desertion of, 486; besieged at Querétaro, 1867, 493–501; surrender, etc., of, 501–2; trial, 502–3; execution, 504–5.
Mejía, Gen., defence of Querétaro, 1867, 493–9; trial and execution, 502–5.
Mendoza, Viceroy A. de, rule, etc., of, 206–8.
Mescala, Rock, siege of, 351–2.
Mexico (see also Anáhuac), ancient boundaries, 1; climate, 1–6; geography, 1–3; flora, 3–6; ancient races, 6–9; the Toltec and Chichimec periods, 10–21; the Aztecs, 22–9, 43–108, 122–32; mythology and traditions, 30–41; antiquities, 109–21; name, 122; Grijalva's expedition, 1518, 145–7; conquest of, 152–94; famine in, 1691, 236; population, etc., 246–8, 533; society and castes, 248–53, 536–45; food, 253–4; dress, 254, 561–3; cities and dwellings, 255, 546–8; amusements, etc., 255–8, 555–6, 565–6; disaffection in, 268–77; war of independence, 278–375; national congress established, 1821, 379–80; constitution, 401–4; foreign relations, 410–11, 427–8; Spanish invasion of, 1829, 413–15; war with France, 1838–9, 428–34; 1862–7, 468–86; Maximilian's empire, 481–506; war with U. S., 444–50; foreign intervention, 467–8; claims of U. S., 525; government, 528–31; judiciary, 531–2; list of states, etc., 532; congress, 533; the executive, 533–4; colonization, 535; traffic, 549–50; police system, etc., 556–7, 570–1; mode of life, 557–60; gambling, 563–5; occupations, 567–78; church affairs, 583–6; education, 586–8; literature, etc., 588–9; mining, 590–5; manufactures, 595–8; agriculture, 599–608; stock-raising, 605–6; revenue and debt, 609–11; commerce, 611–13; railroads, 613–14; telegraphs, 614–15; pearl fisheries, 615–20.
Mexico, city, founding of, 20, 122–3; ancient palaces, etc., 48–51; Cortés at, 171–84; destruction of, 1521, 188–94; spoils of, 195; rebuilding, etc., of, 196–9; floods in, 234–5; riot in, 1692, 237–45; plan of, 238; captured by Scott, 1847, 447–8; French occupation of, 1863, 478–9; recaptured by Diaz, 1867, 507; description of, 551–5; plan of, 552.
Mictlan, Nahua hades, 39.
Mictlantecutli, Nahua god, 39; picture of, 40.
Mina, biog., 366; exped. of, 366–70; capture and execution, 370.
Miramon, Gen. M., president, 1858, 463; portrait of, 464; defence of Querétaro, 1867, 493–9; trial and execution, 502–5.
Mitla, ruins at, 115–18.
Monte Alban, ruins at, 114–16.
Montejo, F. de, conquest of Yucatan, 214–23.
Montezuma I., reign of, 22–4.
Montezuma II., accession of, 1503, 28; authority, 44–5; coronation, etc., of, 45–7; palaces, etc., 48–51; service, 51–5; meals, 52–3; audience, 54; pastimes, 54; household, 55; reign,

130–1; news of Grijalva's expedition, 131–2, 146–7; character, 132; meeting with Cortés, 170–2; imprisonment, etc., of, 173–80; death, 1520, 179–80.
Morelos, J. M., biog., 333; character, 333–4; campaigns of, 1811–15, 335–60; capture of, 361–2; trial, 362; execution, 1815, 363.
Myths, general remarks, 30–1; physical, 31–3; animal, 33; religious, 33–40.
Nauhyotl, Toltec king, defeat of, 18–19.
New laws, code of the, 211–12.
Nezahualcoyotl, Acolhuan monarch, reign of, 25.
Oajaca, ruins in, 114–16; map of, 345.
Oajaca, city, captured by Morelos, 1812, 343–6; by Bazaine, 1865, 483–4.
O'Donojú, Viceroy J., surrenders authority, 1821, 374.
Ordoñez, Col, defeats Villagran, 1813, 349.
Orizaba, city, description of, 232–3.
Ortega, Gen. J. G., defence of Puebla, 1863, 474–7; portrait, 476.
Osorno, Gen., campaign of, 1813, 350–1.
Palacio, Gen., siege of Querétaro, 1867, 495–7.
Palo Alto, battle of, 1846, 446.
Paredes, Gen., revolution of, 1843, 442.
Pedraza, G., portrait of, 407; president elect of Mex., 1827, 407; flight of, 409; restored to power, 422–3.
Peña y Peña, president ad interim, 1848, 451; portrait, 451.
Plans, of Teotihuacan, 112; of Mitla, 115; of palace at Mitla, 116; Vera Cruz, 225; city of Mex., 238; battlefield of Las Cruces, 304; affair at Aculco, 310; royalist operations against Guanajuato, 313; battlefield of Calderon, 320; Cuautla, 336; Oajaca, 344; Chapala lake and the Mescala rock, 352; Mina's operations, 367; fort of Los Remedios, 369; fort Jaujilla, 370; Vera Cruz harbor, 412; Tampico, 419; Puebla, 422; San Juan de Ulúa, 430; Vera Cruz, 432; seat of war, 1838–9, 434; Vera Cruz and Ulúa, 462; Puebla, 469; field of Cinco de Mayo, 470; battle in front of Puebla, 472; Monterey, 487; Querétaro, 494; Matamoros, 516; Mexico, 552.
Porter, Commodore D., operations of, 412.
Portraits, M. Hidalgo, 279; I. de Allende, 280; I. L. Rayon, 316; J. M. Morelos, 334; G. Victoria, 371; V. Guerrero, 372; A. de Iturbide, 373; N. Bravo, 402; G. Pedraza, 407; V. G. Farías, 423; A. L. de Santa Anna, 425; J. J. Herrera, 443; Peña y Peña, 451; I. Comonfort, 456; J. Álvarez, 458; F. Zuloaga, 461; M. Miramon, 464; B. P. Juarez, 467; J. G. Ortega, 476; F. Maximilian, 483; R. Corona, 499; J. N. Mendez, 508; L. de Tejada, 513; J. M. Iglesias, 519; P. Diaz, 521.
Puebla, city, plans of, 422, 469; descriptions of, 468–9, 581–2; captured by the French, 1863, 474–7; recaptured by Diaz, 1867, 488–92.
Quauhtemotzin, King, defence of Mex., 191; capture, etc., of, 193–4; execution, 200.
Quemada, ruins of, 109–11.
Querétaro, picture of, 278; Maximilian besieged at, 1867, 493–501; plan of, 494.
Quetzalcoatl, Nahua god, name, 35; myth of, 35–7; palace of, 51.
Races, ancient of Amer., 6–9; classification of, 8.
Rayon, Gen. I. L., portrait of, 316; biog., 316–17; operations, 1813, 348–9.
Rayon, R., defence of Mount Cóporo, 360 1.
Remedios, fort, siege of, 1817, 369; plan of, 369.
Repartimiento system, origin, etc., of, 202–3.
Riaño, Intendente, defence of Guanajuato, 288–97.
San Juan de Ulúa, fort, name, 146; Cortés at, 154; captured by the Mexicans, 1825, 411–12; by the French, 1838, 429–31; plan of, 430.
San Miguel, Hidalgo at, 284–5.
Santa Anna, Gen. A. L. de, revolt of, 390–1; campaign against Barradas, 1829, 413–14; dictator, 424; portrait of, 425; character, 425–6; affair at Vera Cruz, 1839, 432–3; rev-

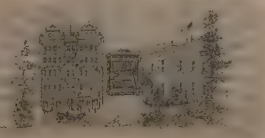
olution against Bustamante, 437–8; misrule of, 440–1; overthrow, 442–3; war with U. S., 448–9; honors paid to, 455; revolt against, 456–7.
Slavery, among the Aztecs, 61–2; in Cent. Amer., 309–10.
Sombrero, siege of, 1817, 368–9.
Spain, invasion of Mex., 1829, 413–15.
Spanish history, outline of, 133–6, 264–7.
Taxation, among the Aztecs, 64–5; modern, 609–10.
Tecuhtlis, Nahua knights, initiation, etc., of, 56–60.
Tehuantepec, city, ruins near, 117–19.
Tejada, S. L. de, president, 1872, 512; administr., 518–19; portrait, 513; flight, 519–20.
Teotihuacan, picture of monolith at, 15; of fainting-stone, 15; of terra-cotta head, 16; ruins of, 112–13; plan of, 112.
Teotl, Nahua god, worship of, 33.
Texas, American colonization, etc., in, 444–5; map, 445.
Tezcatlipoca, Nahua god, myth of, 34–6.
Tezcuco, city, royal palace of, 49; aborig. architecture at, 113; description of, 123.
Tlaloc, Nahua god, myth of, 38.
Tlascaltecs, Nahua nation, war with the Aztecs, 28; conquered by Cortés, 159–66.
Tollan, city (see also Tula), founding of, 11; abandoned, 17.
Toltecs, Nahua nation, name, 10; annals of the, 11–21; palaces, 51.
Tortillas, preparation of, 76.
Trujillo, Lieut-col., campaign of, 1810, 301–7.
Tula (see also Tollan), pictures of basaltic column at, 10–11; ruins at, 111–12.
Tultitlan, city, Toltecs defeated at, 15.
United States, war with Mex., 444–50; claims on Mex., 525.
Urrea, Gen., revolution against Bustamante, 435.
Valladolid, Morelos' defeat at, 1813, 356–8.
Venegas, Viceroy, administr. of, 276–346.
Vera Cruz, ruins in, 119–21; map, 231.
Vera Cruz, city, Cortés at, 154–5; sack of, 1683, 225–30; plans of, 225, 432; description of, 1777, 231–2; French occupation of, 1839, 432–3.
Victoria, G., the revolutionary war, 371; portrait, 371; president, 1824, 402–7; character, 404.
Xiuhtecutli, Nahua god, recognition of, 32–33, 9.
Xochicalco, picture of bas-relief at, 29; ruins at, 113–14.
Xoloc (Xolotl), city, founding of, 17.
Xolotl I. and II. Chichimec kings, reigns of, 17–20.
Yorkinos, party, mention of, 405–6.
Yucatan, Córdoba's expedition, 1517, 141–4; map of, 143; name, 144; conquest of, 214–23.
Zapotecs, Nahua nation, war with the Aztecs, 27.
Zuloaga, Gen. F., revolution of, 460–1; president, 1858, 461; portrait, 461.

PUBLICATIONS

OF

THE HISTORY COMPANY.

The History Company was organized primarily for the publication of the Historical Series of Hubert Howe Bancroft, but with the purpose also of largely extending its operations to cover a general publishing, manufacturing, and agency business. Founded in 1882, the company was incorporated in 1886, with a paid-up capital of $500,000, the President being Mr H. H. Bancroft, who began in 1856 the Book and Stationery business which under his auspices developed into the largest establishment of the kind in the western world; Vice-President and Manager, Mr N. J. Stone, long known in California and Japan as a successful business man of exceptional energy and ability. A prominent feature is that this company is prohibited by its articles of incorporation from incurring any other than a cash obligation, or giving notes or acceptances. Besides the capital thus incorporated, the officers of the company own the building they occupy, one of the finest and best located in San Francisco, and worth fully another half-million, being 75 feet on Market Street and 100 feet on Stevenson Street, with a depth of 170 feet. Having extended and influential relations in Mexico, an agency has been established in the capital of the Republic. And in due time, as the necessity arises, other agencies will be established elsewhere. Thus are combined conditions second to none for the prosecution of a business of that high degree of liberality, solidity, and respectability consistent with the commercial spirit of the age.



SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.:
THE HISTORY COMPANY, PUBLISHERS,
THE HISTORY BUILDING, MARKET STREET.

CITY OF MEXICO:
LA COMPAÑÍA HISTORIA DE MÉXICO (LIMITADA),
CALLE NUEVA DEL CINCO DE MAYO, NO. 6.
1887.

HISTORICAL WORKS

OF

HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

By the *London Times* Mr Bancroft has been called a writer "clear, logical, and attractive"; by Wendell Phillips, "the Macaulay of the West"; by the *Boston Journal*, "the Herbert Spencer of Historians"; by the *Edinburgh Scotsman*, an author "of well-directed industry and great ability"; by the *London Telegraph*, "a critic of much shrewdness and modesty."

Says the *Philadelphia Press*, "His methods of writing history are nothing less than royal"; the *Chicago Times*, "The result is marvellous"; Henry Ward Beecher, "The work has no parallel in literature"; *London Westminster Review*, "His style is clear and without affectation, recalling the straightforward simplicity of Herodotus"; *Record-Union*, "He has applied the scientific methods of history-writing in a manner never before dreamed of"; *The Nation*, "Never was a large library more thoroughly ransacked or more completely laid under tribute by a writer." There might be cited from a thousand other authorities extracts of similar import.

HISTORICAL WORKS
OF
HUBERT HOWE BANCROFT.

IN 39 VOLUMES, 8VO, WITH MAPS AND ILLUSTRATIONS.

VOLS. I–V.—THE NATIVE RACES OF THE PACIFIC STATES.
VOLS. VI–VIII.—HISTORY OF CENTRAL AMERICA.
VOLS. IX–XIV.—HISTORY OF MEXICO.
VOLS. XV–XVI.—HISTORY OF THE NORTH MEXICAN STATES AND TEXAS.
VOL. XVII.—HISTORY OF ARIZONA AND NEW MEXICO.
VOLS. XVIII–XXIV.—HISTORY OF CALIFORNIA.
VOL. XXV.—HISTORY OF NEVADA, COLORADO, AND WYOMING.
VOL. XXVI.—HISTORY OF UTAH.
VOLS. XXVII XXVIII.—HISTORY OF THE NORTHWEST COAST.
VOLS. XXIX–XXX.—HISTORY OF OREGON.
VOL. XXXI.—HISTORY OF WASHINGTON, IDAHO, AND MONTANA.
VOL. XXXII.—HISTORY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA.
VOL. XXXIII.—HISTORY OF ALASKA.
VOL. XXXIV.—CALIFORNIA PASTORAL.
VOL. XXXV.—CALIFORNIA INTER POCULA.
VOLS. XXXVI–XXXVII.—POPULAR TRIBUNALS.
VOL. XXXVIII.—ESSAYS AND MISCELLANY.
VOL. XXXIX.—LITERARY INDUSTRIES.

THE HISTORY OF THE PACIFIC STATES is the central figure of this literary undertaking, the *Native Races* being preliminary, and the works following the history supplementary thereto. The territory covered is the western half of North America, from Panamá to Alaska, including all of Central America and Mexico, and is equivalent in area to one twelfth of the earth's surface.

CONDITIONS. — The volumes will be well printed, on good paper, and neatly and substantially bound; they will be uniform in style, and will average of 800 pages each. Three or four new volumes per annum will appear until the entire series is completed. The chronological order has been followed in the publication, rather than the numerical.

	Per Vol.
Bound in extra English cloth, neat and attractive style	$4.50
" in fine leather, library style	5.50
" in half calf, half Russia, or half Morocco	8.00
" in Russia leather or tree calf	10.00

THE BANCROFT LIBRARY.

For a period of twenty years Mr Bancroft prosecuted his historical labors in the upper rooms of the buildings occupied by his business, first on Montgomery Street, and then on the fifth floor of his building on Market Street. To secure more room, however, with less fire risk, in 1881 he purchased ground on Valencia Street, and erected a substantial building to meet the purpose. The Library numbers 50,000 volumes, with many maps and manuscripts, and is valued at $250,000. Says the *New York Tribune:* "Probably there is nothing in the world which exactly corresponds in value, in interest, in abundance, and in completeness with this priceless library. Both hemispheres have been searched for treasures to fill it, and with such results that there is no country on the globe for whose early history such ample material has been brought together as for that of California. The *Native Races* gave Mr Bancroft at once a distinguished position as an investigator, and it is not too much to say that his additions to our previous knowledge of the civilization which the Spaniards found on the Pacific Coast were so important and so interesting that they seemed like disclosures. He is now recognized as an authority of the first rank."

5008

The Native Races of the Pacific States.

Vol. I.—Wild Tribes. Vol. II.—Civilized Nations.
Vol. III.—Mythology. Vol. IV.—Antiquities.
Vol. V.—Primitive History.

These five volumes contain all that was known of the aborigines on the arrival of the Europeans. The great advantage of this work is that the reader of the history can constantly refer to it without interrupting the historical narrative.

History of Central America.

Vol. I.—1501-1530. Vol. II.—1530-1800. Vol. III.—1800-1887.

A description having been given of the aborigines, to which reference may be constantly made, we now bring upon the scene the conquerors and settlers from Europe, and follow them in their work of subjugation and occupation; and in as much as the southern section of our field of narrative was the first discovered and occupied, we begin with it, following next the navigators and explorers northward in their order, at the same time completing the history of each country separately.

History of Mexico.

Vol. I.—1516-1521. Vol. II.—1521-1600.
Vol. III.—1600-1803. Vol. IV.—1804-1824.
Vol. V.—1824-1863. Vol. VI.—1864-1887.

Commencing fifteen years later, the history of Mexico runs parallel with that of Central America to date.

History of the North Mexican States and Texas.

Vol. I.—1531-1800. Vol. II.—1801-1887.

The states of the northern frontier of Mexico having had so small an influence on the early acts of the nation, they have been so lightly treated of in the first three centuries of the national history, that it has become necessary to devote a larger space to them in the latter period.

History of Arizona and New Mexico.

Here, as in Texas and California history, the territory being once a part of Mexico, its early history is part of the history of Mexico, though, under present arrangement, it is therein delineated in still fainter degree, being brought out in full in a separate volume.

History of California.

Vol. I.—1542-1800. Vol. II.—1801-1824.
Vol. III.—1825-1840. Vol. IV.—1840-1845.
Vol. V.—1845-1848. Vol. VI.—1848-1856.
Vol. VII.—1856-1888.

It is an acknowledged fact that these volumes are unequalled in the annals of history. They are mostly based on original documents.

History of Nevada, Colorado, and Wyoming.

The discovery and settlement of the interior states of the American Union are themes full of interest and instruction.

In this volume is given the history of Mor
miracles, and persecutions; how the Prophe
found the Book of Mormon, began to preach,
afterward to Missouri, and thence to Illinois, where
coming meanwhile to seek a place of refuge in the Great

History of the Northwest Coast.

Vol. I.—1543–1800. Vol. II.—1801–1846.

This comprises what is known of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Mo
and British Columbia, to whose subsequent histories this work is prelimi

History of Oregon.

Vol. I.—1834–1848. Vol. II.—1848–1887.

In the hist ·y of the Northwest Coast we follow the fortunes of the f
hunters only; the history of Oregon proper begins with permanent settlemer

History of Washington, Idaho, and Montana.

This volume follows those of Oregon, which in their turn come after thos
of the Northwest Coast.

History of British Columbia.

It comprises a summary of voyages, a description of the physical aspect of this vast region, an account of its first occupation, the relations of the settlers with the Indians, explorations, foundations, discoveries of gold and coal, and generally treats of government and society.

History of Alaska.

Few fields present greater historical facinations than this extreme northern limit of our territory. There are reliable records since the seventeenth century, though the discovery proper and occupation of Alaska from the shore of Kamchatka did not occur till the century following.

California Pastoral.

There were necessarily omitted in the history of California many of its most attractive phases of domestic life, certain peculiarities of the people, and their social and political conduct under the influence of the isolation and strange elements surrounding them. They are given in this volume in a much more attractive form than could be done in the condensed history.

California Inter Pocula.

This volume is to the history of California following the discovery of gold what California Pastoral is to the period preceding said discovery.

Popular Tribunals.

Two volumes. This is a subject which has assumed such phenomenal proportions in the Pacific States that it demands separate treatment.

Essays and Miscellany.

During the author's historical and literary labors, covering more than a quarter of a century, many of his writings have been published, while many others of equal importance have not. Selections from them form the contents of this volume.

Literary Industries.

This last volume of the series is a history of the author's labors; explains his methods, and portrays his trials and triumphs.

DATE DUE

MAR 1 6 1982

NOV 1 0 1992

MAY 1 2 1993

DOMINICAN COLLEGE LIBRARY
F1226 .B22
Bancroft, Hu/A popular history of the Me
3 3645 00087801 0

F1226 .B36 1887
Bancroft, Hubert Howe,
1832-1918.
A popular history of the
Mexican people

Dominican College Library
San Rafael, California